The Reasoning Eye.
Jonathan Richardson's (1667–1745) portrait theory and practice in the context of the English Enlightenment.

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the pictorial oeuvre of the English painter, art theorist and connoisseur Jonathan Richardson (1667–1745). It focuses on Richardson's series of portraits of John Milton, Alexander Pope, of his son Jonathan Richardson Junior and of himself as well as on his portraits of friends. Following a biographical introduction the second chapter looks into Richardson's "collection of the portraits of friends". This collection provides insight into both Richardson's world of ideas and his aptitude as a draughtsman. It not only shows that Richardson was driven by the same philosophical ideas preoccupying many thinkers of the Enlightenment, but that he used portraits as an aesthetic means in order to memorise and visualise these ideas. Chapter three is dedicated to Richardson's series of self-portraits and how they originate from the artist's deep scepticism in Locke's epistemological concept of personal identity. Considering his son as his *alter ego* the series of portraits of Richardson Junior constitutes an aesthetic continuation of Richardson's self-portraits examining the process of reasoning. The last two chapters are concerned with the series of portraits of Milton and Pope originating from Richardson's intellectual preoccupation with their poetical works. While interpreting *Paradise Lost* (1667) as the history of mankind and considering Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733) as a philosophical essay on human understanding, Richardson endeavoured to find a pictorial language in his portraits visualising a poetical genius that makes us "ourselves to know" (*An Essay on Man*, IV,1). This comparative analysis shows that Richardson's creativity as visual artist largely originates from his intense preoccupation with Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Comparable with poets and philosophers of the early eighteenth century who developed the literary form of the essay to new heights, Richardson used his portrait sequences in order to visualise the disjointed nature of human understanding.

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Acknowledgment

The topic of this thesis emerged from my intense interest in the sister arts. In the course of my MA dissertation on Peter Cornelius' illustrations of Goethe's *Faust I,* supervised by Prof. Wilhelm Schlink and Prof. Achim Aurnhammer, I first came across Jonathan Richardson as an example for a *Doppelbegabung* as painter and writer. It was Prof. Werner Busch who directed my attention to the extraordinary aspects of Richardson's oeuvre, his intense preoccupation with philosophical thought and his obsessive interest with his *self.*

Prof. David Bindman then helped me to focus on the questions as I have discussed them in this thesis. He encouraged and motivated me throughout this project, and also saved me from losing myself in the too many aspects of the Enlightenment (including my rather practical excursion into the philosophy of time). I am much obliged to him for both his professional and moral support. Furthermore, I want to thank Diana Dethloff, Prof. Carol Gibson-Wood, and Prof. Thomas Puttfarken. I have benefited a lot from conversations with them. Among those who read the thesis and made extremely helpful suggestions I would like to thank Ivan Philip Edwards, Lucy Jessop, Daniela Nieden, Andreas Puth and Christine Schneider. I am deeply indebted to Lorna Lockert for proofreading and editing the whole thesis.

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all, my warmest thanks go to my loveable husband Helmut Bürgmann who put up with Richardson and myself for the last five years.

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Introduction

Painting has another Advantage over Words, and that is, it *pours* Ideas into our Minds, Words only drop 'em.
(Jonathan Richardson, 1715)

Jonathan Richardson was, according to Horace Walpole, "undoubtedly one of the best English painters of a head." However, despite Walpole's flattering introductory words, his account of Jonathan Richardson (1667-1745) in *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, first published in 1762, is characterised by the author's ambiguous attitude towards the artist. He described Richardson as a painter whose portraits incorporate "the good sense of the nation" yet at the same time are void of imagination. He tolerantly explained this phenomenon by referring to the spirit of the times: "You see he lived in an age when neither enthusiasm nor servility were predominant."[1] Two centuries later English art historian Ellis Waterhouse would less kindly describe this age as "the most drab in the history of British painting."[2] Most astonishing to Horace Walpole—as to many modern scholars—was the qualitative inconsistency within Richardson's theoretical and pictorial oeuvre: "Though he wrote with fire and judgment", Walpole noted, "his paintings owed little to either", and continued to explain:

> No man dived deeper into the inexhaustible stores of Raphael, or was more smitten with the native lustre of Vandyck. Yet though capable of tasting the elevation of the one and the elegance of the other, he could never contrive to see with their eyes, when he was to copy nature himself. One wonders that he could comment their works so well, and imitate them so little.[3]

It is clear from Walpole's portrayal that even in the eighteenth century Jonathan Richardson's theory of art was more compelling than his portraits. This leads to Richardson being better known today for his writings and his collection of old master drawings than for his pictorial oeuvre.

This thesis is concerned with Richardson's pictorial oeuvre, in particular with the artist's exceptional "collection of the portraits of friends"[4] and the extraordinary series of portraits of John Milton, Alexander Pope, the artist himself, and his son. I shall analyse these works in context of not only Richardson's art theoretical treatises but also his poetical meditations and literary-historical interests. Thus, it will become obvious that Richardson was both an extraordinary draughtsman and imaginative etcher whose

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[1] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, London 1786 (4th edition), (4 vols), IV, 31.
[2] Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain, 1530–1790*, New Haven & London 1994 (5th edition), 147.
[3] Walpole 1786, IV, 31f.
[4] Richardson, *Letter to Palmer*, 12 April 1736, fol. 11.

portraits are pervaded by the same philosophical ideas that made him one of the most distinguished art theorists of the English Enlightenment.

In recent years Jonathan Richardson's art theory writings have attracted considerable interest among scholars. In 1715 Richardson published his first art theory treatise, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting.* It was followed by *Two Discourses* containing *1. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting* and *2. An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur* in 1719, and *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy* in 1722.[5] Under the title *The Uncomplicated Richardson* Lipking discussed Richardson's aesthetic ideas in the context of historical thought in early eighteenth-century England.[6] Gibson-Wood has dedicated large parts of her studies to Richardson's theories, particularly the *Two Discourses* (1719).[7] Gibson-Wood argued that John Locke's epistemology lies at the very heart of Richardson's theory of art, and stressed that Richardson did not simply refer to Locke's empiricism but applied the Lockean distinction of ideas methodologically to his "science of connoisseurship".[8] An original approach to Richardson's *Two Discourses* is represented by Schneemann in his comparative study, *Jonathan Richardson and the Abbé Dubos: Connoisseur and the Public. A Comparison Between*

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[5] Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting,* London 1715; *Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. Shewing how to judge i. Of the Goodnes of a Picture; ii. Of the Hand of the Master; and iii. Whether 'tis an Original, or a Copy. II. An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur; Wherein is shewn the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of it,* London 1719 and *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c. with Remarks. By Mr. Richardson Sen. and Jun.,* London 1722. In 1725 a second amended edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* and of the *Two Discourses* was published, and in 1728 all three treatises appeared in a French translation under the title *Traité de la Peinture et de la Sculpture. Par Mrs. Richardson. Père et Fils.* After Richardson's death his son published *An Account* in a second edition in 1754. In 1773 all art theories were issued as *The Works of Mr. Jonathan Richardson, consisting of 1. The Theory of Painting, II. Essay on the Art of Criticism as far as it relates to Painting. III. The Science of a Connoisseur* including *An Essay on the Knowledge of Prints, and Cautions to Collectors* by the printmaker and clergyman William Gilpin (1724-1804). In 1792 a second edition of *The Works of Mr. Jonathan Richardson* appeared, printed at Strawberry Hill and intended as supplement to Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting.* For further details on Richardson's editions of theoretical writings, see Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson, Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment,* New Haven 2000, 253f. Unless indicated differently I will refer to the first editions of Richardson's theoretical writings throughout this thesis.

[6] Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England,* Princeton 1970, 109-126.

[7] Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli* (PhD thesis Warburg Institute London 1982) New York & London 1988, 95-137; Carol Gibson-Wood, 'Jonathan Richardson and the Rationalization of Connoisseurship', in: *Art History* 7 (1984), 38-56. For a general introduction to Richardson's art theories see also Johannes Dobai, *Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England,* Bern 1974-1984 (4 vols), I, 633–664. Irene Haberland, who made Richardson's science of connoisseurship the topic of her PhD thesis, chiefly reproduced Gibson-Wood's reading. See Irene Haberland, *Jonathan Richardson (1666–1745): Die Begründung der Kunstkennerschaft,* (PhD University Bonn 1991), Münster 1991.

[8] See John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* London 1690. Throughout this thesis I will refer to Alexander Campbell Fraser's annotated edition of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* New York 1959 (2 vols). For a general introduction to Locke's theory of knowledge and its historical significance see E. Jonathan Lowe, *Locke on 'Human Understanding',* London 1995. For different approaches to Locke's philosophy of human understanding see *John Locke. Critical Assessments,* ed. by Richard Ashcraft, London 1991 (4 vols).

Two Concepts of a Critical Beholder in 1719 (1988).[9] The starting point for his analysis of Richardson's *Two Discourses* and Jean Baptiste Dubos's *Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture* is that both treatises were published in the same year—1719. Though referring to the same philosophical and aesthetic ideas, in particular to Locke's empiricism, both writers developed entirely different systems of approaching and appreciating art. This comparative approach outlines an unpretentious English pragmatism in Richardson's concept of connoisseurship.

In her recent publication, *Jonathan Richardson, Art Theorist of the Enlightenment* (2000), Gibson-Wood brought together Richardson's manifold talents as portrait painter, writer, art theorist, poet, connoisseur, and collector from a biographical point of view. By referring to original sources Gibson-Wood revised many assumptions concerning Richardson's activity as a painter and theorist first conferred by Snelgrove in his unpublished thesis, *Work and Theories of Jonathan Richardson, 1665–1745* (1936).[10] Both Gibson-Wood and Lipking considered Richardson's aesthetic writing, in particular his first art treatise, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), as the beginning of a genuine English theory of painting. Lipking described Richardson as a "man of art", whose theories mark the transition to a novel English art theory detached from the authority of the classics and the French.[11] More importantly, Lipking called attention to Richardson's strong educational interest. At the core of Richardson's writing stands the idea that the visual arts no longer remain an inexplicable mystery. Rather, the visual arts should be understood as a means of communication in Lockean terms of clear, distinct, and uncomplicated ideas.[12] In this thesis I will show how these theoretical ideas also influenced Richardson's creativity as a draughtsman and painter.

Apart from these approaches to Richardson's theory of art and science of connoisseurship, a number of writers have devoted studies to specific aspects of Richardson's writing. In her PhD thesis, *Jonathan Richardson's Art Theory: The Canon of History Painting and its Preeminent Realization in Raphael's Cartoons* (1996), Mora looked into Richardson's systematic analysis of the potential psychological, intellectual, and spiritual

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[9] Peter Johannes Schneemann, *Jonathan Richardson and the Abbé Dubos: Connoisseur and the Public. A Comparison Between Two Concepts of a Critical Beholder in 1719*, (MA dissertation University of Essex 1988).

[10] Gordon William Snelgrove, *Work and Theories of Jonathan Richardson, 1665–1745*, (PhD thesis University of London 1936).

[11] Lipking 1970, 116ff.

[12] Richardson 1715, 5f. For the influence of Locke's philosophical thought on the arts and literature in the eighteenth century see Kenneth MacLean, *John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, New York 1984 (reprint of 1936) and Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1778 (2 vols), I, 34ff, and most recently David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo. Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*, Ithaca 2002, 23ff.

benefits of history painting.[13] Richardson's *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734)[14], in particular, has received a comparatively large amount of attention. Oras and Walsh analysed this work in the context of editorial and interpretative approaches to Milton's *Paradise Lost* in the eighteenth century.[15] They emphasised the painter's remarkable sensitivity to Milton's sublime imagery and poetic language. Considering Richardson's *Doppelbegabung* as painter, writer, and poet, Briggs outlined the artist's enthusiasm to interpret *Paradise Lost* as a series of pictures.[16] Richardson's pictorialised aesthetics is also the subject of Moore's analysis of Richardson's *Explanatory Notes* in his book *Beautiful Sublime* (1990).[17] Richardson's deep concern for visualisation becomes obvious in both studies. In Richardson's view pictures both imaginative and pictorial are key to human imagination and understanding. Visualised understanding is also at the core of Richardson's activity as collector of drawings: In her studies *Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somers's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England* (1989) and *A Judiciously Disposed Collection: Jonathan Richardson Senior's Cabinet of Drawings* (2003), Gibson-Wood disclosed Richardson's strictly chronological system of collecting drawings as a means of communicating art historical knowledge.[18]

Richardson's poetical works have also attracted attention.[19] Guilhamet characterised Richardson's collection of poems, posthumously published as *Morning Thoughts* (1776), as a kind of spiritual diary "in which personal feelings are set down their daily progress."[20] According to Guilhamet, Richardson's poetry became a means to convey moral values and deep personal emotions. Lonsdale emphasised the religious moment of Richardson's poetry and pointed towards the importance of the poem's biographical implications.[21] In 1989 Gibson-Wood published an article on Jonathan

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[13] Stephanie Mora, *Richardson's Art Theory: The Canon of History Painting and its Preeminent Realization in Raphael's Cartoons*, (PhD thesis University of Illinois 1996).

[14] Jonathan Richardson, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, London 1734.

[15] Ants Oras, *Milton's Editors and Commentators from Patrick Hume to Henry John Todd (1695–1801)*, Estonia & London 1931, 100ff.; Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing. The Beginning of Interpretative Scholarship*, Cambridge 1997, 86ff.

[16] Peter M. Briggs, 'The Jonathan Richardsons as Milton Critics', in: *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 9 (1979), 115–130.

[17] Leslie E. Moore, *Beautiful Sublime. The Making of Paradise Lost, 1701-1734*, Stanford 1990, 129ff.

[18] Gibson-Wood, 'Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somers's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England', in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989), 167–187, and "A Judiciously Disposed Collection': Jonathan Richardson Senior's Cabinet of Drawings', in:, *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1800*, ed. by Christopher Baker et. al., Aldershot 2003, 155–171.

[19] Jonathan Richardson, *Morning Thoughts: or Poetical Meditations, Moral, Divine and Miscellaneous. Together with several other Poems on Various Subjects*, London 1776.

[20] Leon Guilhamet, *The Sincere Ideal. Studies in Sincerity in Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, Montreal 1974, 151–161.

[21] Roger Lonsdale, 'Jonathan Richardson's Morning Thoughts', in: *Augustan Studies. Essays in Honour of Irvin Ehrenpreis*, ed. by Douglas Lane Patey et al., Newark 1985, 175–194.

Richardson's *Hymn to God*, a devout apologetic, which the artist wrote in 1711 in some sort of religious crisis.[22] She sees a strong affinity between Richardson's *Hymn to God* and Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733); they treat similar moral and philosophical ideas.

However, it was Finsten who could identify Richardson's poems and portraits as "twin aspects on a continuum of 'visual language'".[23] Richardson himself both compared his poems to "sketches in drawing"[24], and used poetry as an interpretative device to illustrate the meaning of pictures throughout his art theory writings. Finsten also called attention for the first time to the magnificent series of Richardson's self-portrait drawings. A year later, Gibson-Wood published an article entitled *Jonathan Richardson as a Draftsman* (1994) focusing on the artist's different techniques of drawing.[25] She referred to Richardson's studies of historical heads and his sequence of self-portrait drawings. Apart from Richardson's self-portraits, it is his series of portraits of Alexander Pope (1688–1744) and John Milton (1608–1674) that particularly provoked interest among scholars. In a series of publications Wendorf analysed Richardson's portraits and biography of Milton from the angle of the paradigm of the sister arts.[26] An extensive catalogue of almost all the portraits of Alexander Pope was compiled by Wimsatt.[27] Brownell, by comparison related Richardson's portraits of Pope to the poet's aesthetic ideas in his publication *Alexander Pope & the Arts of Georgian England* (1978).[28] Attention to Richardson's painted portraits is only paid within general surveys on British painting as, for example, in Waterhouse's *Painting in Britain 1530–1790* (1953), Kerslake's anthology *Early Georgian Portraits* (1977), or Pointon's thought-provoking book, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (1993).[29]

From Walpole to modern scholars, Richardson's pictorial oeuvre, with exception of the series of self-portrait drawings, appears to be of lesser interest and importance than his art theory ideas. Yet one has to bear in mind that Richardson was not only known as a

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[22] Richardson, *Hymn to God*, 1711/12. Gibson-Wood, 'Jonathan Richardson's 'Hymn to God', in: *Man & Nature. Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 8 (1989), 81–90.

[23] Jill Finsten, 'A Self-Portrait by Jonathan Richardson', in: *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 21 (1993), 43–54, esp. 50.

[24] Richardson 1776, 3f. For Richardson's extensive use of poetry as a means to illustrate the meaning of pictures, see in particular the chapter on 'The Sublime' in the second edition of Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting* of 1725, 227ff.

[25] Gibson-Wood, 'Jonathan Richardson as a Draftsman', in: *Master Drawings* 32 (1994), 203–229.

[26] Richard Wendorf, 'Ut Pictura Biographia: Biographer and Portrait Painting as Sister Arts', in: *Articulate Images: The Sister Arts from Hogarth to Tennyson*, ed. by Richard Wendorf, Minneapolis 1983, 98-124; 'Jonathan Richardson: The Painter as Biographer', in: *New Literary History* 15 (1984), 539–57 and *The Elements of Life. Biography and Portrait-Painting in Stuart and Georgian England*, Oxford 2002, 135–149.

[27] William Kurtz Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*, New Haven & London 1965, 73–89 and 137ff.

[28] Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope & the Arts of Georgian England*, Oxford 1978, 26ff.

[29] John Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits*, London 1977 (2 vols), 228ff and Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven & London 1993, 107ff.

fashionable face painter by his contemporaries but considered himself above all, a portrait painter. Proudly he speaks of painting as "my Profession as a Liberal Art."[30] It is therefore hard to believe that his practice as painter and draughtsman should not have influenced his art theory ideas and that, vice versa, his theoretical knowledge of the fine arts should not have influenced his pictorial oeuvre. Richardson's theoretical ideas and his pictorial oeuvre are linked by the artist's deep concern for a visual language. His aesthetic ideas are based on the conviction that pictures both pictorial and imaginative are the key to human understanding and imagination. It was not pure coincidence that William Hogarth (1697–1764) in his *Analysis of Beauty*, first published in 1753, literally referred to Richardson's aesthetic concept of the artist's attainment of nature as "the art of seeing."[31] The concept of painting as an aesthetic catalyst for knowledge is the starting point of my comparative analysis of Richardson's oeuvre, where poetry, painting, writing, and collecting are different methods of both expressing and answering the philosophical problem of seeing and knowing as it was fervently discussed by empirically minded thinkers of the early eighteenth century.

[30] Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 1725, 26.
[31] William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. by Ronald Paulson, New Haven & London 1997, 94.

I. 'The Annals of a Chequered Life'

Before I turn to the analysis of Richardson's aesthetic preoccupation with philosophical ideas of the English Enlightenment a brief outline shall be given of how Richardson became one of the most eminent face painters in Georgian England and one of the most respected connoisseurs and art theorists of the eighteenth century. Gibson-Wood has characterised Jonathan Richardson as "a quintessential product of, and participant in, the English Enlightenment."[32] She showed that as much as Locke's empiricism stands at the core of Richardson's art theories, so the painter's life was directed by the goal of rational self-improvement. Like many of his contemporaries Richardson believed in the importance of independence both material and spiritual from authorities. Happiness, which he deemed to be any individual's vital goal, was best achieved, in his eyes, through a moderate, pious, and industrious life. Yet above all, it was his belief in mankind's rational capacities that guided his life.[33]

In about 1687, at the age of twenty, Richardson joined the studio of the English-born portrait painter John Riley (1646–1691) who, by that time, had established a name among the middle classes.[34] More than his contemporary colleagues, Riley paid attention to individual appearance and character.[35] In fact, his portraits of the Scullion and of Bridget Holmes, the venerable housemaid to James II, both painted in 1686, belong to the most sympathetic and sensitive portraits of this time.[36] Riley's portraits display a compassionate curiosity for the human being that was also to become visible in Richardson's oeuvre.

In Riley's studio Richardson learned painting by executing drawings after his master's and other painters' works. Sanctioned by the French Academy as an instructional aid in the 1660s, the copying of (old master) paintings and drawings became a very common study method in the following decades.[37] Of Richardson's early studies only two small brush drawings in grey wash, representing the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) and King Charles II (1630–1685), are known today. The portrait of Locke

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[32] Gibson-Wood 2000, 1.
[33] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 1f.
[34] Gibson-Wood 2000, 27. For Riley's reputation see Waterhouse 1994, 135–8.
[35] Walpole 1786, III, 197.
[36] The portrait of 'The Scullion' is in Christ Church, Oxford; the portrait of Bridget Holmes is in the Royal Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, London. See furthermore Anne French, 'Servants as Artist's Models', in: *Below Stairs. 400 Years of Servants's Portraits*, ed. by Giles Waterfield, London 2003, 105-120.
[37] See Arline Meyer, *Apostles in England. Sir James Thornhill and the Legacy of Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons*, New York 1996, 20. Dutch-born painter and draughtsman, Sir Peter Lely (1618–1660), was one of the first face painters in England who established the practice of copying pictures as a study method. See Margaret Whinney and Oliver Millar, *English Art 1625-1714*, Oxford 1957, 180f.

has an inscription on its verso by Richardson Junior: "By my F[athe]r fr[om] S. Godfrey, when a Learner" (fig. 1). It is said to be done after a sketch by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723) made about 1692, which was also used by Michael Dahl (1659–1743) as the model for his portrait of Locke painted in 1696.[38] Unlike Dahl, Richardson paid his entire attention to the philosopher's facial features. Richardson's modelling of features through light and shades seem to sharpen the philosopher's gaze. This intense and, at the same time, melancholic gaze gives Locke a vividness that is not found in Dahl's picture. The portrait study of Charles II, after a painting by Riley, also shows facial features carefully executed (fig. 2).[39] It is inscribed in Horace Walpole's hand, "Charles 2^{d} after Riley, copied by Richardson so early in his life as 1689." Like his master, who was celebrated by the antiquary and art historian George Vertue (1684–1756) for "his peculiar Excellence in a Head [...] which eminently distinguished him from all Contemporaries"[40], Richardson put high value on a thorough execution of the face.

Apart from executing drawings after other masters' paintings Richardson had to copy Riley's works in preparation for engraving. Gibson-Wood has drawn attention to an early preparatory drawing by Richardson in the Huntington Collection.[41] It is a portrait drawing of Bishop Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715) with an annotation on a separate sheet of paper by Richardson Junior: "Done by my Father from the picture of Mr. Riley; and under His Direction, for the Print in Messo Tint (fig. 3 and 4)."[42] It remains uncertain whether Richardson executed any independent portrait paintings while apprenticed to John Riley. There is only one picture, the portrait of German scholar and translator Theodore Haak (1605–1690) in the collection of the Royal Society, painted in about 1690, which Richardson possibly may have done while he worked with Riley (fig. 5).[43] Painted in a manner reminiscent of Rembrandt, the handling of the face bears some likeness with other portraits of Riley's studio.[44]

Although Riley's studio was not only the location where Richardson was trained as a painter; it strongly influenced Richardson's conception of a portrait painter's social

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[38] See National Portrait Gallery, Heinz archive, box "John Locke." See also Michael Dahl's portrait of Locke in the National Portrait Gallery, London.
[39] See Riley's portrait of Charles II at Holker Hall, Cumbria.
[40] *Vertue Note Books*, II, 131.
[41] Gibson-Wood 2000, 30. The drawing is reproduced in Robert R. Wark, *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection, 1600–1750*, San Marino 1969, 40.
[42] There are several painted versions of this portrait by Riley, one in the National Portrait Gallery. See David Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, Cambridge 1963, 46f.
[43] For Haak's activity as translator and member of the Royal Society see Pamela R. Barnett, *Theodore Haak, F.R.S. (1605-1690). The First German Tanslator of Paradise Lost*, The Hague 1962.
[44] See Waterhouse 1994, 137f.

status and life style.[45] Certain attitudes he noticed in Riley substantially influenced his own professional demeanour and art theories. In particular, Richardson's vision of a genuinely English School of painting was almost certainly nurtured in Riley's studio as Riley was the only native portrait painter of any reputation in a society that was dominated by foreign artists.[46] Vertue characterised Riley as a gentleman "extreamly Corteous in his Behaviour, Engaging in Conversation, & Prudent in all his actions."[47] Retrospectively, Richardson referred to Riley as a gentleman painter, for he "Convers'd with the Greatest Men of Time, and was justly Esteem'd by them not only as a Painter, but as a Gentleman."[48] It is, in particular Riley's sincere interest in English literature that made him, in Richardson's view, the ideal of the educated genteel artist. In the introduction to *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734), Richardson emphasised that Riley, along with Lord Somers, Lord Dorset, Waller, Dryden, and Sir Roger L'Estrange, was among the subscribers of the deluxe 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost.*[49] Richardson also frequently recounted that it was in Riley's studio where he found a quarto edition of *Paradise Lost,* the reading of which marked his beginning as a passionate Miltonist.[50] The very fact that Richardson later included a portrait drawing of Riley in his private "Collection of the portraits of friends" shows the artist's sincere affection for his master (fig. 6).

Soon after Riley's premature death in March 1691, Richardson apparently became a self-employed face painter and, in 1693, married Elizabeth Bray, a close relative of Riley's. The couple moved to a house in Holborn Row at the northern part of Lincoln's Inn Fields, where Richardson lived from 1703 until 1725.[51] Lincoln's Inn Field became a popular residential area for artists during the first decades of the eighteenth century.[52] Portrait painters Bartholomew Dandridge (1691–c. 1755) and Joseph Highmore (1692–1780) lived on Holborn Row; next to them, Parry Walton, Surveyor of the King's Pictures. A little further away on Great Queen Street lived portrait painter Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), sculptor Francis Bird (1677–1731) and John Vanderbank the elder, father of the painter John Vanderbank (1694–1739).[53]

By 1702, Richardson had also established a good reputation as a face painter outside of London, for he received 17 pounds 11 shilling by the Corporation of the City

[45] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 27ff.
[46] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* Bath 1997, 201.
[47] *Vertue Note Books,* II, 131.
[48] Richardson 1734, cxviii.
[49] Richardson 1734, cxviii.
[50] Richardson 1734, cxviii-cxix.
[51] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 32ff.
[52] Sir Walter Besant, *London. North of the Thames,* London 1911, 427f.
[53] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 32.

of Bristol for a three-quarter length portrait of Bristol-born merchant and philanthropist, Edward Colston (1636–1721) in this year.[54] At the time, Richardson's work commanded less than that of the more fashionable Sir Godfrey Kneller, who charged 15 pounds for a bust, 30 pounds for a three-quarter length, and 50 pounds for a full-length portrait.[55] However, during the following years Richardson must have risen quickly to success, for he was paid 43 pounds for the full-length portrait of merchant banker Sir Robert Clayton (1629–1707) in 1706 (fig. 7).[56] Thus, Richardson was one of the best-paid portrait painters in early eighteenth-century London, and earned far more than most of his colleagues.

Richardson's clientele was diverse and included members of the nobility and gentry, legal and political representatives, mariners, scientists, and literary figures as well as theologians and clergy. Among his early sitters were essayists Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729) (fig. 8)[57], Lord Chancellor John Lord Somers (1651–1716) (fig. 9), architect and dramatist Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726),[58] and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) (fig. 10)[59]. In many cases, Richardson developed a notable closeness with his clients that went beyond the common relationship between sitter and artist. This closeness was a direct manifestation of Richardson's theoretical beliefs: "A Portrait-Painter", he maintained in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), "must understand Mankind, and enter into their Characters, and express their Minds as well as their Faces."[60] Knowledge of the sitter's mind required a certain familiarity with the person. Richardson took this aspect very seriously, and cultivated friendship among his sitters.

Richardson's paintings included full-length, three-quarter length, and half-length portraits, in which Richardson developed a style increasingly independent from Riley's manner of portrait painting. Still carefully modelling the faces, Richardson brightens Riley's melancholic airs; sincerity and openness characterise Richardson's sitters. "A piece of solid and incisive prose", as Waterhouse explained, "with a plain, British directness

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[54] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 36. In 1722, George Vertue made an engraving after Richardson's picture, and in 1729 the sculptor Rysbrack took Richardson's portrait as the model for the effigy on Colston's pretentious tomb at All Saints in Bristol. See Henry Bromley, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits,* London 1793, 214 and Katharine Eustace, *Michael Rysbrack Sculptor, 1694-1770,* Bristol 1982, 66.

[55] See John Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait,* Oxford 1983, 187–196.

[56] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 35f. See also John Douglas Stewart, 'Records of Payment to Sir Godfrey Kneller and his Contemporaries', *The Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971), 30–34.

[57] See Richardson's portrait of Joseph Addison and the two portraits of Sir Richard Steele in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

[58] The portrait of Sir John Vanbrugh is in the collection of the Corporation of King's Heralds, London. See also Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh: a Biography,* London 1987.

[59] See Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* Oxford 1999, 301f and Pointon 1993, 141ff.

[60] Richardson 1715, 24.

such as Kneller lacks."[61] A good example of Richardson's "British directness" constitutes the three-quarter length portrait of Somers painted circa 1712 (fig. 9). Somers is sitting at a table, wearing official attire and holding his gloves in his left hand. He is thoughtfully gazing at the beholder. The ancient bust of Socrates in the background characterises Somers as a philosophically minded man. The bust alludes explicitly to an intense exchange of moral-philosophical ideas between Somers and Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713). In March 1712 Shaftesbury wrote *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design* to Somers, composed as a supplement to *The Judgment of Hercules* (1712)[62] referring to Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates.*[63] The subtle brushwork and composition of this portrait illustrates that—contrary to the general view—Richardson indeed was a skilled face painter capable of portraying his sitters with psychological depth.

By the time Richardson painted the portrait of John Lord Somers, he had acquired a reputation as both a connoisseur and collector of old master drawings. Gibson-Wood has convincingly shown that in about 1711, Somers appointed Richardson to remount and rearrange the volumes of Italian drawings formerly in the possession of the Milanese collector Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714).[64] Richardson himself began to collect drawings as early as 1688,[65]and the many references to his collection of prints and drawings in the first edition of *An Essay on Theory of Painting* (1715) indicate that he had assembled a fine collection by that time.[66] In contrast to many contemporaries, Richardson did not simply accumulate drawings. Rather, he organised and systemised the drawings to highlight the historical progress of art and the didactic qualities of a collection.[67]

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[61] Waterhouse 1994, 148.

[62] *A Notion of the Historical Draught, or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules* first appeared in French in *Journal des Sçavans* under the title *Raisonnement sur le Tableau du Jugement d'Hercule, selon l'Histoire de Prodicus.* See Wolfgang Lottes, 'The Judgment of Hercules. Shaftesbury und die Ut Pictura Poesis-Tradition', in: *Anglia* 107 (1989), 330-343. See also Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* London 1714 (2nd edition), (3 vols), III, 395–411. For a general introduction to and further reading on Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks* see Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times,* ed. by Lawrence E. Klein, Cambridge 1999.

[63] *The Memorable Things of Socrates. Written by Xenophon [...] Translated into English [...] By Edward Bysshe,* London 1712, 53ff.

[64] Gibson-Wood 1989a, 170f. For the collection of Padre Sebastiano Resta see in particular Genevieve Warwick, *The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe,* Cambridge 2000.

[65] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 90, note 77.

[66] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 91.

[67] See in particular Gibson-Wood 2003, 155-171.

'The Use of my Writing'

In 1715, at the age of 48, Richardson brought his first art theory treatise, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, to the public, and established himself as an art theorist. *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* was timely as English writers, theorists, and the public were becoming aware of the desire for a specific English taste. Three years previously, Shaftesbury formulated the necessity of "national taste" in his *Letter Concerning Design* (1712).[68] Yet it was Richardson who transferred Shaftesbury's vague idea into a pragmatic concept of an English School of painting. In so doing, Richardson distinguished himself from previous art theorists and developed original ideas that largely responded to the peculiarities of English society.[69]

In contrast to his French colleagues, Richardson did not address his *Essay on the Theory of Painting* to readers knowledgeable about artistic matters but to an English society that still regarded painting as purely ornamental decoration and required assistance in shaping its taste.[70] Unlike Shaftesbury, who reduced the painting's purpose to moral instruction, Richardson promoted painting as a means both to instruct *and* to entertain.[71] Painting, in Richardson's view, ought to no longer be considered a ignoble craft but an honourable and dignified profession. Going further, Richardson extolled the painter's proficiency as liberal artist whose skills not only matched those of the poet in every way but even surpassed them. This novel view contrasted with Shaftesbury, who reduced the painter to a "mere mechanic" in need of tutoring by literary men.[72] Richardson also introduced an argument that, up to that point, played a subordinate role in art theory treatises, if it was addressed at all: the economical aspect of painting. "What Rank a Painter (as such) is to hold amongst these *Money-Takers*", asked Richardson rhetorically in order to emphasise that he hoped "they may be placed amongst those whom all the World allow to be Gentlemen, or of Honourable Employments, or Professions."[73] This view reflected the profound change occurring in England's consumer society. Many

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[68] Shaftesbury 1714, III, 395–411. For the significance of Shaftebury's aesthetics for eighteenth-century visual arts see Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness. Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early 18th-Century England,* Cambridge 1994, and David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England,* New Haven & London 1993, 19ff.

[69] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 138ff.

[70] Richardson 1715, 3f. See also Gibson-Wood 2000, 143ff.

[71] See Shaftesbury's treatises *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design* (1712) and *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules* (1712) in the second edition of *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions,Times,* 1714, III, 347ff.

[72] See Shaftesbury 1714, III, 357ff. Following his own theory, Shaftesbury supplied the painters, from whom he commissioned paintings, with a detailed iconographic and compositional instruction, as Paolo de Matteis, who painted 'Judgment of Hercules' as illustration for Shaftesbury's *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules.* See Solkin 1993, 6f, and Livio Pestilli, 'Lord Shaftesbury e Paolo de Matteis: Ercole al bivio tra teoria e pratica', in: *Storia dell'Arte* 68 (1990), 95-121.

[73] Richardson 1715, 33.

younger sons of the gentry were entering the professions or trade and intermarrying with the middle class. Members of the commercial classes were, in turn, acquiring the material trappings of the gentry. Being a gentleman and carrying out a paid profession were no longer mutually exclusive.[74]

One of the most original features of Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting* was the subdivision of painting into eight individual aesthetic categories: *Invention, Expression, Composition, Drawing, Colouring, Handling, Grace and Greatness,* and *The Sublime.*[75] Gibson-Wood has shown that by subdividing painting into eight distinct parts, Richardson not simply continued an established tradition of art criticism, but also used the scheme to put into practice certain Lockean precepts, in particular his concept of the distinction of ideas as a means to achieve genuine knowledge.[76] In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* first issued in 1690, Locke developed the theory that human understanding is not acquired by reasoning from general principles and innate ideas but derives from the discrimination and distinction of sensual impressions: "All reasoning are *ex praecognitis et praeconcessis*".[77] Following Locke's empiricist epistemology Richardson maintained that a painter "must not only have a nice Judgment to distinguish betwixt things nearly resembling one another, but not the same [...] but he must moreover have the same Delicacy in his Eyes to judge of the Tincts of Colours which are of infinite Variety".[78] It is possible that Richardson derived his inspiration to utilise Locke's empirical approach to art criticism from Joseph Addison, who in his *Spectator* essays on *Paradise Lost* of 1712, had anticipated Richardson's vocabulary almost verbatim when he explained that "an author who has not learned the art of distinguishing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts, and setting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will lose himself in confusion and obscurity."[79] Yet Richardson also believed that painting as a superior means of communicating ideas required a specific attentiveness from both the painter who creates the picture and the connoisseur who beholds it. Both painter and spectator must be particularly alert toward the process of distinguishing ideas.

In considering painting as a pictorial extension of the artist's rational capacity, Richardson attached more importance to the painter's manual skills than previous art

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[74] Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class. Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730,* London 1989, 6ff. See also Gibson-Wood 2000, 148.

[75] Only the second edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* of 1725, and all further editions contain an elaborate discourse on the sublime in painting by comparison with the sublime in writing. See Gibson-Wood 2000, 143–178.

[76] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 147.

[77] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* IV, vii, 8.

[78] Richardson 1715, 27.

[79] *Spectator,* No. 291. See also MacLean 1984, 11.

theorists, who had particularly emphasised the intellectual component of painting. Throughout *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* Richardson referred to the painter's manual skills as being equally important as his conceptual ideas.[80] Many observations are certainly based on Richardson's own practical studio experiences. It would appear that Richardson wrote *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* in the tradition of English technical literature on painting, such as William Sanderson's *Graphice* (1658) or William Gandy's *Notes on Painting* (1673–1699).[81] However, in considering painting as the visual extension of the painter's intellectual capacities, Richardson deemed idea and practice mutually conditional in the painter's profession. In a way, Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting* thus united continental art theory, focusing on the painter's intellect and English technical literature on painting.

What distinguished Richardson most from previous and contemporary art theorists is his attitude towards portrait painting. Regarded as a mere copy of nature because of its adherence to likeness, portrait painting was generally considered inferior to other genres, in particular to history painting. "The mere face painter", observed Shaftesbury, "indeed has little in common with the poet, but, like the mere historian, copies what he sees and minutely traces every feature and odd mark."[82] Richardson pursued an entirely new path when he stated that portraits are, similarly to historical pictures, a means of moral instruction: "Upon the sight of a Portrait", Richardson explained, "the Character, and Master-strokes of the History of the Person it represents are apt to flow in upon the Mind, and to be the Subject of Conversation: So that to sit for one's Picture, is to have an Abstract of one's Life written, and published, and ourselves thus consigned over to Honour, or Infamy."[83] Although Richardson had to admit he did not know precisely what influence this had or might have, he was convinced that "Pictures of this kind are subservient to Virtue; that Men are excited to imitate the Good Actions, and persuaded to shun the Vices of those whose Examples are thus set before them."[84] In return, Richardson was certain that portraits had an edifying effect on the sitter:

> why should we not also believe, that considering the violent Thirst of Praise which is natural, especially in the noblest Minds, and the better sort of People, they that see their Pictures are set up as Monuments of Good, or Evil Fame, are often secretly admonish'd by the faithful Friend in their own Breasts to add new Graces to

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[80] Richardson 1715, 141ff.

[81] William Sanderson, *Graphice, or The Use of the 'Pen' and 'Pensill', or the most excellent Art of Painting*, London 1658. For Sanderson's *Graphice* and Gandy's *Notes* see Mansfield Kirby Talley, *Portrait Painting in England: Studies in the Technical Literature before 1700*, London 1981, 228ff and Dobai 1974, I, 727ff.

[82] Shaftesbury's *Sensus Communis*, in: *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times*, ed. by Klein, 1999, 67.

[83] Richardson 1715, 16.

[84] Richardson 1715, 16.

them by Praiseworthy Actions, and to avoid Blemishes, or deface what may have happen'd, as much as possible, by a Future good Conduct.[85]

This concept essentially implied that portraits are a better means of moral instruction than history paintings, for they affect both the sitter and the beholder in the most direct way. This immediate instructional effect of portraits required, on the other hand, much from the portrait painter, for he had to find the perfect balance between exact likeness and thorough idealisation to express the sitter's character and mind in a convincing way.

An Essay on the Theory of Painting was followed by *Two Discourses* including *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as It Relates to Painting* and *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur*, published in 1719.[86] Richardson wrote *Two Discourses* as a manual for budding collectors and connoisseurs. Yet, in contrast to previous books of this kind, such as De Piles's *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres [...] avec un Traité du Peintre Parfait* (1699)[87], Richardson conceived his essays not as a set of compulsory guidelines, but wrote them with the intention to train his reader's capacity to think for themselves, to develop independent opinions. Richardson took Locke's empiricist epistemology as the methodological basis for his concept of connoisseurship.[88] Richardson wanted connoisseurship to be understood as a science in terms of the eighteenth century. In this sense, anyone who was capable of thinking and reasoning could become a connoisseur. These faculties, however, had to be trained and exercised. Throughout the *Essay on Criticism* he repetitiously urged his readers to judge for themselves and to not depend upon prescribed authorities or anyone else's opinion: "The first Thing then to be done in Order to become a good Connoisseur one's Self, is to avoid Prejudices, and false Reasoning."[89] Unlike continental writers who had reserved the title of connoisseur for an exceptional category of people with inborn taste, Richardson believed that anyone is capable of judging sensibly in artistic matters provided he possessed some enthusiasm for this occupation.[90] Like any other science, Richardson considered connoisseurship a discipline whose method consists in empirical reasoning

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[85] Richardson 1715, 16f.

[86] For a full discussion of the *Two Discourses* see Gibson-Wood 2000, 179–208 and Gibson-Wood 1984, 28–56.

[87] Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres [...] avec un Traité du Peintre Parfait*, Paris 1699. In 1706 the English translation of this work appeared under the title *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters* in London.

[88] Gibson-Wood 2000, 182ff, and Gibson-Wood, 1984, 38–54.

[89] Richardson 1719, I, 17.

[90] See Richardson 1719, I, 16.

and whose conclusions require logical demonstration. Therefore, Richardson introduced a scorecard system as a verifiable method to visualise the logic of his science.[91]

Richardson committed to practice his science of connoisseurship in his third publication, *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c with Remarks* (1722). It was the first publication co-authored by his son, Jonathan Richardson Junior (1694–1771). As Richardson himself explained, he thought *An Account* a demonstration of the principles both of painting as presented in an *Essay on the Theory of Painting* and of connoisseurship and art criticism as stated in the *Two Discourses*: "The present Treatise is to Set Before the Reader, and to Apply the foregoing Rules by Remarking Upon a Collection of Pictures, and Statues; and 'tis the Collection of the whole World."[92] With this trilogy of art theories, Richardson established himself an enlightened connoisseur and art theorist in a society that was obsessed both with the Lockean way of thinking and with collecting art. Richardson's theoretical works were apparently widely read during his lifetime, for a second English edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* and the *Two Discourses* was printed in 1725.[93] In 1728, all essays appeared in a French edition.

'Pictor Celebrimus'

In his principal profession as a face painter Richardson also had a great deal to do during these years. Judging from the many portraits he painted between 1715 and 1730, there must have been a constant coming and going of people in the painter's studio. Among Richardson's sitters were celebrities such as poets Matthew Prior (1664–1721), John Gay (1685–1732), and Alexander Pope (1688–1744); noble patrons such as Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1674–1753), and Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (1689–1741); and some of the most influential political and legal representatives of the day such as Francis Godolphin, 2nd Earl of Godolphin (1678–1766), Lord High Treasurer, and Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745).

His acquaintance with Lord Burlington (fig. 11) and Lord Oxford (fig. 12), both eminent patrons of a considerable number of contemporary artists and poets, was certainly of great significance to Richardson. Through these aristocrats he became acquainted with many literary and illustrious persons of Augustan England.[94] It is difficult

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[91] See chapter II 'The Science of a Connoisseur.'

[92] Richardson 1722, preface, without pagination.

[93] According to *A List of Books Printed for Stephen Austen, at the Angel and Bible in St. Paul's Church-Yard*, London 1734, a third English edition of Richardson's art theory treatises appeared in 1734. However, none of these are known today.

[94] See James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation, Five Great Patrons of Eighteenth-Century Art*, London 1962, 103–220.

to ascertain how Richardson entered their circles, whether by his profession as a face painter, his reputation as a connoisseur and advisor to collections of drawings and prints, his standing as an art theorist, or simply through mutual friends. However, between 1717 and 1730, after the publication of his first art theory treatise, Richardson painted a considerable number of portraits both for and of them.

As early as 1717 Richardson painted the first portrait of Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, shortly after the Earl had designed his first Palladian building, the so-called New Bagnio, in the grounds of his Chiswick estate in 1717 (fig. 11). Richardson's three-quarter length portrait represents Burlington in his newly chosen role of a Palladian architect. He is standing in the garden of Chiswick, leaning against a pedestal exhibiting his coat of arms, and holding the frequently used emblem of the architect, a pair of compasses, in his right hand. The background, with New Bagnio against a sunset, is slightly reminiscent of an architectural setting by Claude Lorrain. All in all, the portrait is an orchestration of emblems and symbols representing Burlington as a virtuoso in Shaftesbury's mould.[95]

Noteworthy too, is Richardson's portrait of poet and diplomat Matthew Prior (fig. 13), which he painted on behalf of Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, in 1718.[96] As a collector and patron, Edward Harley may not be compared to the "Apollo of the Arts", as Horace Walpole labelled Burlington[97], but he developed a particular enthusiasm for portraits and memorials of friends. Moreover, he shared his father's literary interests and became one of the earliest collectors of portraits of contemporary English poets.[98] Oxford developed a special liking for English artists, which brought him the reputation of a patriot collector.[99] The three-quarter length portrait of Prior represents the poet and diplomat sitting at a table in a red high-backed chair, holding a pen in his right hand. The left hand is hidden in the breast of his waistcoat; he is wearing a dark suit, a plain white cravat, and a black cap. Matthew Prior was very pleased with his portrait. He wrote to Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) on 4 May 1720 that "Richardson whome I take to be a better

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[95] See J. Wilton Ely, 'Lord Burlington and the Virtuoso Portrait', in: *Architectural History* 27 (1984), 376–81. For the ideal of the *virtuoso* see Walter E. Houghton, 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century', in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3 (1942), 51–73 and 190–219.

[96] A portrait of Matthew Prior dated 1718 and signed by Richardson is still at Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire; once the property of Edward Harley. Moreover, there are two further portraits of Prior painted by Richardson: one at Christ Church, Oxford, which according to Poole "was possibly given to the House by Lord Harley, Second Earl of Oxford" and a second at the Bodleian, which certainly was presented to the library by Edward Harley. See Reginald Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits in Possession of the University, Colleges, City and County of Oxford*, Oxford 1912-26 (3 vols), III, 47f.

[97] Walpole 1786, IV, 235.

[98] Lees-Milne 1962, 173ff.

[99] See John Harris, 'Harley, the Patriot Collector', in: *Apollo* 122 (1985), 198–203.

painter than any named in the letter [Kneller and Dahl] has made an excell[t] picture of me from whence Lord Harley, whose it is, has a Stampe taken by Vertue. He has given me some for you to give to our friends at or about Dublin."[100] Prior's portrait was indeed one of Richardson's most successful paintings; it became frequently reproduced by painters and engravers throughout the eighteenth century (fig. 14).[101]

Although Richardson's business as face painter flourished, in particular after Sir Godfrey Kneller's death in 1723, there is little known about Richardson's workshop practices. Even during his most prolific years Richardson apparently did not possess a workshop with several assistants like that of Sir Godfrey Kneller.[102] Moreover, it seems that only after the publication of *Essay on the Theory of Painting* when Richardson acquired some reputation as an art theorist did he begin to train a number of apprentices: George Knapton (1698–1778), who stayed with him from 1715 to 1722[103], the poet John Dyer (1700?–1758), Thomas Hudson (1701–1779), and George Vertue's brother, James. Gibson-Wood has drawn attention to John Dyer's notebooks on painting, which the poet kept during his apprenticeship in Richardson's studio. These notebooks disclose that Richardson, though he never painted historical subjects himself, conveyed compositional ideas of history paintings to his students. Under the title "Subjects for Painting" Dyer noted a list of appropriate subjects for history painting derived from ancient authors and Milton and other English poets.[104]

Richardson's most successful student was Thomas Hudson (1701–1779), who led a profitable portrait painting studio during the 1740s and 1750s after the retirement of Richardson's generation of face painters and up to the emergence of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788).[105] Based on the fact that Hudson hardly painted portraits independently before 1740 Gibson-Wood even suggests that he was Richardson's principal assistant during the most prolific years between 1725 and

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[100] *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. by Harold Williams, Oxford 1963 (5 vols), II, 347.

[101] See Thomas Hudson's and Thomas Wright's painted copies after Richardson's portrait of Prior, as well as George Vertue's line engraving, John Simon's and Francis Kyte's mezzotints after the portrait, all in the National Portrait Gallery, London. See also Piper 1963, 286–9.

[102] See Stewart 1983, 82f; David Piper, *The English Face*, 1992, 107ff and William Thomas Whitley, *Artists and their Friends, 1700-1799*, London & Boston 1928 (2 vols), I, 4–6.

[103] *Vertue Note Books*, III, 62. George Knapton, the brother of Pope's publisher, Charles Knapton, became first portrait painter to the *Society of Dilettanti*, founded in 1734. See Wimsatt 1965, 79 and Waterhouse 1994, 186f and 334f.

[104] Gibson-Wood 2000, 67 refers to a descendant J. P. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe, who described these notebooks in a short note 'John Dyer as a Painter' in: *Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire and its Borders*, London 1878, II, 400f. See Gibson-Wood, 2000, 241, note 24. See furthermore Sandro Jung, *'Forming Thought and Feasting Sense'. The Great Compositions of John Dyer*, Trier 2000, and Dobai 1974, I, 189f.

[105] Ellen G. Miles, *Thomas Hudson (1701–1779). Portrait Painter and Collector*, London 1979, introduction, without pagination.

1740, and that he only became an independent master after Richardson entirely gave up his painting business in 1740.[106] While working together, Richardson executed several portrait drawings of Hudson (fig. 15).[107]

Apart from Hudson, Richardson apparently refrained from employing any assistants in his studio. The only documented collaboration is with the landscape painter John Wootton (1682–1764).[108] In about 1724 Wootton and Richardson painted two portraits in collaboration, one of Sir William Withers[109] and a portrait of Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745) at a hunt at Richmond Old Lodge (fig. 16).[110] Mrs. Walpole apparently was very pleased with her husband's resemblance, for her son, collector and writer Horace Walpole, referred in 1772 to the composition as the picture "what his mother always kept as the best picture of Sir R. Walpole, done when about forty. It is painted by Richardson in a green frock-coat and hat and the dogs, and landscape by Wootton."[111] Richardson's male portraits obviously lived up to female tastes in the early eighteenth century, an experience that is confirmed by essayist Sir Richard Steele, who, with regard to "new Editions of his Face, after Kneller, Thornhill and Richardson" observed in 1712 "that most Ladies chuse Mr. Richardson's Work rather than Sir Godfrey's" (fig. 17-19).[112]

Even if Richardson was not in the habit of collaborating with contemporary colleagues, he was by no means excluded from the circle of contemporary artists; on the contrary, he visibly supported the opening of the first English art academy, the Queen Street Academy, and was in frequent contact with contemporary painters.[113] Along with Sir Godfrey Kneller, Michael Dahl, Sir James Thornhill (1675–1734), Louis Laguerre (1663–1721), and Thomas Gibson (1680–1751), Richardson was among the subscribers for the Queen Street Academy in October 1711. Richardson was elected one of twelve directors under Kneller's government.[114] Like the history painter, Sir James Thornhill,

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[106] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 66f.

[107] Another crayon portrait drawing of Hudson is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

[108] The acquaintance of Richardson and Wootton dates from the year 1711, when both were among subscribers for the Queen Street Academy. *Vertue Note Books,* IV, 168 and Whitley 1928, I, 8. See also Arline Meyer, *John Wootton 1682-1774. Landscapes and Sporting Art in Early Georgian England,* London 1984, 21–26.

[109] *Vertue Note Books,* III, 28.

[110] Meyer 1984, 44f.

[111] *Horace Walpole's Correspondence,* ed. by Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis et al., New Haven 1933-1983 (48 vols), XLI (1980), 234.

[112] *Richard Steele's 'The Theatre', 1720,* ed. by John Loftis, Oxford 1962, 51.

[113] Ilaria Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions in London, 1689–1768', in: *The Walpole Society* 54 (1988), 1–148, esp. 61ff.

[114] *Vertue Note Books,* IV, 168; Whitley 1928, I, 8. See also Bignamini 1988, 73ff.

who became a particular friend of Richardson in the following years, Richardson was very concerned about an improved education for artists.[115]

In 1725, Richardson moved to a more spacious house at Queen Square in the northern part of Holborn, close to Great Ormond Street.[116] In the early eighteenth century Queen Square became a popular residential area for eminent artists, scientists, and men of letters. In this environment Richardson lived and worked for the later part of his career and his retirement, until his death in 1745. Increasingly during these years, Richardson cultivated his friendship with poets and literary interested persons such as antiquarians Thomas Birch (1705–1766) and Martin Folkes (1690–1754), or physicians Richard Mead (1673–1754) and William Cheselden (1688–1752). Yet most significant was the artist's intimate friendship with Alexander Pope. With regard both to Richardson's literary ambitions as well as his creativity in painting, Alexander Pope became an important source of inspiration.[117]

With the 1728 French edition of his art theory writings Richardson considered his activity as an art theorist completed, and henceforth intensified his literary studies. He methodically began to accumulate material for *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost,* which appeared in 1734. Inspired by Milton's poetry, Richardson began to foster his poetical artistry.[118] He also reduced the professional output of portrait paintings, and began to practice drawing as a kind of leisure pursuit. During the 1730s Richardson lived, despite some professional obligations, in a kind of semiretirement dominated by literary studies, and drawing portraits, sketching landscapes, and writing poems for his own pleasure.[119] Retrospectively, Richardson observed "I have from my Infancy Lov'd and Practic'd Painting and Poetry; One I Possess'd as a Wife, the Other I Kept Privately [...]."[120]

An early example of Richardson's poetical artistry is the artist's unpublished *Hymn to God,* written in 1711 (fig. 20). Only in 1776 were a selection of Richardson's poems published posthumously under the title *Morning Thoughts; or Poetical Meditations, Moral, Divine and Miscellaneous. Together with Several Other Poems on Various Subjects.* Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* are moral reflections and meditations upon the harmony and perfection of God's design in general and, more importantly, upon his self in relation to the divine

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[115] See chapter II 'the inexhaustible stores of Raphael'
[116] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 238f, note 42.
[117] See chapter VI.
[118] Richardson 1776, 270.
[119] See Abraham Langford, *A Catalogue of the Large and Capital Collection of Prints and Drawings of Jonathan Richardson Esq.*, London 1772. See also Gibson-Wood 2000, 105ff and Gibson-Wood 1994, 205.
[120] Richardson 1734, clxxviii.

creation. In projecting his personal feelings and religious sentiments onto landscapes and natural phenomena, Richardson essentially anticipated a practice that became characteristic for the Romantic Movement.[121]

On the whole, Gibson-Wood's biography characterised Jonathan Richardson as a devout man of sense, a thoughtful gentleman artist, and an open-minded art theorist, who had an extraordinary interest for philosophical themes, particularly John Locke's concept of human understanding. However, Richardson did not simply apply Locke's epistemological concept of the distinction of ideas to his theory of art and science of connoisseurship. Significantly, he also detected a theory of visual perception in Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), which concurred with his aesthetic ideas of the artist's attainment of nature.

'A Judicious well-instructed Eye'

In Richardson's view, Locke's theory of visual perception brought forth the key issue of painting as a medium to convey ideas. In his principal work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke explained the process of visual perception in a particularly gripping way: Our perception of the three-dimensional world is achieved only from the two-dimensional array of stimulations on the retina is compared to the process we pass through when looking at paintings.

> When we set before our Eye a round Globe, of any uniform colour, v.g. Gold, Alabaster, or Jet, 'tis certain, that the Idea thereby imprinted on our Mind, is of a flat Circle variously shadowed, with several degrees of Light and Brightness coming to our Eyes. But we having by use been accustomed to perceive, what kind of appearance convex Bodies are wont to make in us; what alterations are made in the reflections of Light, by the difference of the sensible Figures of Bodies, the Judgment presently, by an habitual custom, alters the Appearance into their Causes. So that from that, which truly is variety of shadow or colour, collecting the Figure, it makes it pass for a mark of Figure, and frames to it self the perception of a convex Figure, and an uniform Colour; when the Idea we receive from thence, is only a Plain variously colour'd, as is evident in Painting.[122]

Locke's allusion to painting illustrates in a descriptive way the mind's operation in perceiving a shaded circle as a sphere. Painting as a two-dimensional medium is bound to depict three-dimensional objects through various gradations of light and shade. According to Locke, it is our logical inference based on experience and use that enables us to transform the interaction of light and shade into three-dimensional objects. On this account Locke considered "Sight the most comprehensive of all our Senses, conveying to

[121] See Lonsdale 1985, 177.
[122] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, ix, 8.

our Minds the Ideas of Light and Colours."[123] Accordingly, Richardson thought this the quintessential capacity of the draughtsman and painter. "'Tis true", he admits, "other Men may See as Well as a Painter, but not with such Eyes [...] A Judicious well-instructed Eye sees a wonderful Beauty in the Shapes and Colours of the Commonest Things."[124]

For Richardson the artist's creativity became essentially a question of visual perception, the sensible distinction of light and shade. However, Richardson was fully aware that the artist's creativity consists of more than merely forming ideas pictorially according to the laws of nature that are exactly answerable to the ideas he has taken of the distinct objects. It is the aesthetic aspect of the *chiaroscuro*, the artistic arrangements of light and shade, that finally makes up the painter's genuine design. Therefore Richardson recommended painters, in particular, study the composition of old master paintings and drawings to educate their eyes for the artistic arrangements of masses of light and shade.[125] In order to visualise the *tout-ensemble* of a composition, Richardson deliberately referred to De Piles's *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (1708) by stating "Pictures must be like Bunches of Grapes."[126] Though every individual grape must be modelled through light and shade subject to the laws of nature, the whole bunch of grapes must be arranged artistically according to the ideal of the *tout-ensemble*: "a sweet Harmony and Repose must result from all the Parts judiciously put together, and united with each other."[127]

While Locke used painting as a metaphor to visualise the human mind's process of perceiving ideas in general, Richardson made painting a means to accomplish the process of visual perception. "The Great, and Chief Ends of Painting are", according to Richardson, "to raise and Improve Nature; and to Communicate Ideas." He felt confident that there are ideas that "could not possibly be Communicated" without painting.[128] On this account Richardson believed that any kind of written and verbal language is imperfect in comparison with the picture's pictorial language of "Tincts" and "Lines".[129] "There are innumerable Colours and Figures for which we have no name, and an Infinity of other Ideas which have no certain Words universally agreed upon as

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123 Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* II, ix, 9.
124 Richardson 1715, 203. See also Briggs 1979, 121f.
125 Richardson 1715, 13f.
126 Richardson 1715, 121. Roger de Piles, *Cours de Peintures par Principes,* Paris 1708. De Piles illustrated his discourse on the *clair-obscure* in pictorial composition by means of a bunch of grapes. See also Thomas Puttfarken, *The Discovery of Pictorial Composition. Theories of Visual Order in Painting 1400-1800,* New Haven & London, 263ff.
127 Richardson 1715, 121.
128 Richardson 1719, II, 12.
129 Richardson 1715, 27.

denoting them", claimed Richardson. He concluded that only "the Painter can convey his Ideas of these Things Clearly, and Without Ambiguity; and what he says every one understands in the Sense he intends it."[130] Richardson was convinced that the painter, in contrast to all other professions, possessed a language "superadded peculiar to himself", which requires, of course, that a painter "exercises his Hands, and Rational Faculties to the utmost stretch of Humane Nature."[131] Pictures, in Richardson's view, convey ideas more clearly than language is ever capable of conveying. Therefore, pictures should no longer be considered as mere colourable imitations of nature but as essential instruments to human understanding. Richardson wanted painting to be regarded "as another Language, which completes the whole Art of communicating our Thoughts; one of those particulars which raises the Dignity of Human Nature so much above the Brutes."[132] Finally, he came to the conclusion that through pictures "Mankind is advanced higher in the Rational State, and made Better; and that in a Way Easy, Expeditious, and Delightful."[133] Richardson made John Locke's visual theory and his deep scepticism in the language's capacity a means to endorse his theory of painting.

However, the more Richardson occupied himself with the problem of visual perception, the more his scepticism towards the perceptive faculty and human understanding deepened. The artist's obsession with the process of visual perception increasingly turned out to be a matter of personal identity, a philosophical category that was fervently discussed by thinkers of the early English Enlightenment.[134] Gibson-Wood's composed portrayal of Richardson as a successful face painter and enlightened art theorist should not obscure the artist's restless search for truth, a search that originates from the artist's belief in the imponderabilities of personal identity. It is a search, moreover, that fluctuates between the spiritual-mystical realm of faith and religion and the process of rationalisation, areas that to modern scholars are contradictory. For the early eighteenth century, where science in our modern sense is about to be invented, and where a man of genius like Isaac Newton (1642–1727) used his discoveries of the celestial mechanics to

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[130] Richardson 1715, 5f.
[131] Richardson 1715, 30.
[132] Richardson 1715, 5.
[133] Richardson 1719, II, 12.
[134] For a general introduction to Locke's concept of personal identity see Nicholas Jolley, *Locke. His Philosophical Thought*, Oxford 1999, 100ff and Henry E. Allison, 'Locke's Theory of Personal Identity: A Re-Examination', in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966), 41–58. See, furthermore, Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self. Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven & London 2004, 189ff; Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self. The Making of Modern Identity*, Cambridge 1989, 159-176, and Christopher Fox, *Locke and the Scriblerians. Identity and Consciousness in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Berkeley 1988, 27ff.

date events in Greek mythology and characters of the Old Testament retrospectively, superstition and empirical truth were close.[135]

In this thesis I shall set out to show that Richardson's extraordinary creativity as a visual artist derives from his intense preoccupation with these fundamental philosophical intricacies of the early eighteenth century. It is, of course, more difficult to prove the application of theoretical and speculative ideas in utterly different media, such as drawing or painting. This thesis will demonstrate comprehensively, by referring to Richardson's writing throughout, that painting and drawing equally form the pictorial moment within a continuum of aesthetic and ethical ideas of the Age of Enlightenment.

[135] Roy Porter, *Enlightenment. Britain and the Creation of the Modern World,* Bath 2000, 96–129; Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, Cambridge (MA) 1959, 85–102.

II. 'And beautify the intellectual face.' Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends"

Toward the end of the 1720s, Jonathan Richardson, approximately sixty years old, developed a particular fascination for the art of drawing. Obsessively, he began to execute not only portraits of himself, his son, John Milton, and Alexander Pope, but also countless landscape sketches as well as portrait drawings of persons that were of some importance to him during his lifetime, including family, friends, and acquaintances, contemporary celebrities, and eminent figures from the past.[136] Curiously enough, he also began to draw copies of his own portraits painted years ago. An example of this unusual *modus operandi* is a portrait drawing of poet and scholar John Hughes (1677–1720) done in 1736 after a portrait painted in 1714.[137] The inscription in the artist's hand on the verso of the portrait reads: "Mr. John Hughes Auth[or] 9 pieces/Painted Ao. 1714/1736." Similarly, Richardson executed a good number of drawings after historical portraits that were in his or in his acquaintances' possession respectively. The British Museum possesses a portrait drawing of Pope Julius II (1443–1513), which Richardson executed after an original composition by Raphael (fig. 21). On the back of the drawing, Richardson noted "Pope Julius 2d the Orig[inal] is of Rafaelle, in the Collection of the D[uke] of Devonsh[ire]." One of Richardson's latest dated drawings is the portrait of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford (1593–1641), after a painting by Anthony Van Dyck (fig. 22). This drawing is inscribed on verso in graphite by the artist, "Thomas Wentworth Comes Strafforde—Provex Hiberniae 1637/D[uke] of Grafton 18 Aug 1739."

Richardson's portrait drawings from these years show an unexpected diversity of techniques. There are large crayon drawings on differently coloured paper, delicate sketches in pencil and ink, and small plumbago drawings on vellum.[138] The majority of these drawings were executed by the artist for his own retention. In a letter to his friend Ralph Palmer, Richardson proudly refers to his friend's portrait drawing (fig. 23) as a part

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136 The sales catalogue of Richardson Junior's collection lists countless portrait drawings and landscape sketches by Richardson Senior. See Langford 1772. Unfortunately none of Richardson's landscape studies are traceable today.

137 The plumbago drawing of John Hughes is in the British Museum, London; the portrait painting is not traceable.

138 The largest collection of portrait drawings by Richardson is in the British Museum, London. The following institutions each possess a considerable number of portrait drawings by Richardson: the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Courtauld Institute Gallery, both London; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the Cornell University Library, Ithaca, and the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington. For Richardson's technique of drawing see also Gibson-Wood 1994, 203–229 and Finsten 1993, 43–54.

of his "Collection of the portraits of friends."[139] Apparently Richardson thought highly of these portrait drawings. Some of them, particularly the plumbago drawings, had carefully ruled frames. An example of this is the profile portrait of Dr. Richard Mead (fig. 26). Akin to many gentlemen's collections of busts, medals, portrait paintings, and engravings, Richardson's album of portrait drawings commemorated social and intellectual bonds.[140] What distinguished Richardson's album of portrait drawings from these collections is that it is not simply a collection but imaginatively created.

Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" constitutes a unique work of art not only for its subtle artistry but also for its biographical and intellectual implications; similar to a collection of letters this collection of portrait drawings sheds light on the artist's world of ideas and social life. A part of Richardson's collection of portrait drawings indeed resembles a gallery of portraits of the Age of Enlightenment protagonists. There are drawn portraits of scientist and mathematician Isaac Newton (fig. 24), natural historian and founder of the British Museum Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) (fig. 25), as well as eminent physicians Richard Mead (fig. 26) and William Cheselden (fig. 27). There are also portraits of Italian philosopher and art critic Francesco Algarotti (1712–1764) (fig. 28) and of philosopher and statesman Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751)[141]. Richardson was not only on friendly terms with many of these gentlemen but shared their intense interest in methodising the arts and sciences. The following chapter will show how Richardson's acquaintance with his scientific and scholarly friends shaped his aesthetic ideas, and how he endeavoured to contribute to the scientific spirit of the Age of Enlightenment.

'The Science of a Connoisseur'

Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" contained a considerable number of portraits of eminent collectors and connoisseurs of his time: art dealer Andrew Hay (d. 1754), who bought several drawings and prints for Richardson's collection of old master drawings[142]; Dutch painter and connoisseur Gerard Wigmana (1673–1741), whose

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[139] Richardson, *Letter to Palmer,* 12 April 1736, fol.11.

[140] One of the earliest notable collections of portraits of friends was established by English historian and statesman Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609–1674). See Robin Gibson, *Catalogue of the Portraits in the Collection of the Earl of Clarendon,* Wallop 1977, vi-xv and Lady Theresa Lewis, *Lives of the Friends and Contemporaries of Lord Chancellor Clarendon: Illustrative Catalogue of Portraits in his His Gallery,* London 1852 (3 vols).

[141] See chapter VI, fig. 186 and 220.

[142] The crayon portrait of Hay is in the British Museum. Gibson-Wood mentions a drawing at Christ Church, Oxford, which Hay apparently bought on behalf of Richardson. It is a 'Head of St. Peter' after Annibale Carracci with Richardson's inscription on verso: "Bought at Rome by Mr. Andrew Hayes of Sigr Anto Crecolini a Painter. 'Tis the head of St. Peter, & is the same with that of this Apostle which is painted

portrait Richardson drew by memory after Wigmana had paid a visit to his English colleague; and the young Italian art critic Francesco Algarotti, who visited Richardson in 1736.[143] These portrait drawings illustrate Richardson's excellent skills as a draughtsman. While the fashionable portraits of Algarotti reflect the Italian's elegant nonchalance and charm (fig. 28)[144], the crayon portrait of Gerard Wigmana, known among contemporaries as "de Friese Raphael", bears the air of an old master (fig. 29).[145]

Apart from these portraits of connoisseurs, Richardson's private collection also incorporated portraits of gentlemen who were enthusiastic collectors not only of works of art, but of all kinds of things, such as natural historian and physician Sir Hans Sloane (fig. 25) and the antiquary Martin Folkes (1690–1754) (fig. 30 and 31), who were both active members of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries.[146] In contrast to Richardson's official portrait paintings of these gentlemen, the portrait drawings are entirely focused on the sitters' facial features.[147] Sir Hans Sloane is portrayed with a penetrating look. He seems to scrutinise the artist's work as critically as he would examine a natural specimen of his mineral and fossil collection. Martin Folkes, by contrast, is portrayed in a more relaxed pose. Looking over his left shoulder, he appears to have a twinkle in his eyes. This impression is underlined by his headgear, a turban-like scarf (fig. 31).

Like Richardson, these gentlemen considered collecting a means of structuring their literary, historical, and scientific knowledge.[148] However, collecting as an occupation based on logical reasoning and systematic approach was still in its infancy at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[149] It is only reasonable to assume that Richardson, who himself was intensely preoccupied with schemes of collecting works of art and who

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on one side of an Altar in a Church in Rome, (Mr. Hayes has forgot the name of it) S. Paul stand on the other side." [then added later] "the Ch: of San Giacomo delli Spagnoli, going to the Piazza Navona, the first Altar on the Lefthand." See Gibson-Wood 2003, 155–171, esp. 156.

143 For Algarotti's role as patron and art critic see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters. A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of Baroque,* London 1963, 347–360.

144 See also Richardson's pen and pencil studies of Algarotti in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

145 For Gerard Wigmana see B. Van Haersma Buma, 'Gerardus Wigmana, de Friese Raphael' in: *De Vrije Fries* 49 (1969), 43–65.

146 For biographical information on Sir Hans Sloane and Martin Folkes see Arthur MacGregor, 'The Life, Character and Career of Sir Hans Sloane' in: Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane. Collector, Scientist, Antiquary Founding Father of the British Museum,* London 1994, 11–41; Richard Sorrenson, 'Towards a History of the Royal Society in the Eighteenth Century' in: *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London,* 50 (1996), 29–46; Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries,* London 1956, 84ff.

147 See Richardson's full-length portrait of Sir Hans Sloane, painted in 1739, at the Examination School, University of Oxford.

148 See *Enlightenment – Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. by Kim Sloan, London 2003 and MacGregor (ed.) 1994, 69ff.

149 See Genevieve Warwick's introduction in Baker et al. (ed.) 2003, 1–8 and F. J. B. Watson, 'On the Early History of Collecting in England', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 85 (1944), 223–29.

wanted connoisseurship to be understood as a scientific occupation, discoursed about the want of principles and methods to order knowledge with his scholarly and scientific friends. Richardson might not have played a key role in this trans-disciplinary search for systematising rules of knowledge, but he certainly participated in this endeavour. Not without reason he became a serious interlocutor of eminent scientists such as Sir Hans Sloane, and was visited by young connoisseurs and art critics such as Francesco Algarotti.

When Richardson began to collect drawings and paintings in about 1688, collecting was already a well-established practice among painters in England.[150] Collecting works of art served not only the traditional purpose of providing models for the artist's everyday business; regarded as a gentlemanly occupation, it distinguished the painter as a virtuoso.[151] Richardson apparently bought his first drawings "at Sr. Pet Lelys", denoting the auctions where Sir Peter Lely's (1618–1680) collection of prints, drawings, and paintings was sold in 1688 and 1693.[152] Gibson-Wood has shown that in the following years Richardson attended some of the numerous public coffee house sales and auctions as well as private sales in order to enlarge his collection.[153] Many drawings in Richardson's collection were purchased from the widow of portrait painter William Gibson (1645–1702) who, for his part, bought many drawings from Sir Peter Lely's collection.[154] Considering the numerous references to drawings and prints in his possession in the first edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting,* Richardson must have assembled a fine collection of drawings by that time. An entry in the 1719 edition of Orlandi's *Abecedario Pittorico* recorded that Richardson's collection of drawings filled about thirty volumes.[155] When Richardson's "Collection of Italian and other Drawings, Prints, Models, and Casts" was advertised for sale in January 1747, the catalogue recorded close to 5000 drawings, about 1250 prints, and 90 books of prints.[156]

Gibson-Wood has also shown that Richardson displayed an unusually wide ranging interest in drawings of all historical art epochs, not simply for Italian drawings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century that were so very much *à la mode* among eighteenth-

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150 Diana Dethloff, 'On Lely's Collection of Prints and Drawings', in: Baker et. al. (ed.) 2003, 123–139.

151 See Houghton 1942, 205ff.

152 See Gibson-Wood 2000, 90. On Lely's collection, see Diana Dethloff, 'The Executors' Account Book and the Dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's Collection', in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 8.1 (1996), 15–51 and Dethloff 2003, 123–139.

153 Gibson-Wood 2000, 91f, and Gibson-Wood 2003, 155–171

154 Walpole 1786, III, 118. See also Dethloff 2003, 123–139 and Watson 1944, 223–229.

155 Pelegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Abecedaro Pittorico*, Rom 1753 (2nd edition), 445. Judging from this description, Carol Gibson-Wood estimated the number of drawings at about 2000. See Gibson-Wood 2000, 90f.

156 Christopher Cock, *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Collection of Italian and other Drawings, Prints, Models, and Casts Of the Late Eminent Mr. Jonathan Richardson,* London 1747.

century collectors.[157] Exceptional was Richardson's interest in drawings by Italian, German, and Dutch masters of the fourteenth and fifteenth century who he appreciated for their art-historical significance as early examples of draughtsmanship[158]. They served to exemplify the historical development of the *disegno.*

Apart from this, Richardson had a particular interest in collecting 'heads.' Both historical heads and portraits made up a large part of Richardson's collection of casts, models, prints, and drawings. The sales catalogue of Richardson's collection gives an idea of the great variety of 'heads' in Richardson's possession. Next to a good number of antique heads and busts, the catalogue lists 'masks' of King Charles I and King Charles II as well as "A bust of Oliver Cromwell, from the life."[159] Among the books of prints are "Van Dyck's *Iconographiae,* [...] Zanetti's *Heads* [...] Rubens's heads from antique busts [...] Sir *Godfrey Kneller's* beauties *of Hampton Court*"[160], as well as a set of *"Caricaturas of Leon. da Vinci"*.[161] Moreover, Richardson possessed countless engraved portraits by John Smith (1654–1743), Isaac Beckett (1653–1719), Robert White (1645–1703), Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707), Robert Nanteuil (1623–1678), and other renowned engravers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[162] There are a large number of "Off tracts from heads etc. of Raphael in the Vatican, oil"[163], and innumerable portrait drawings and head studies by Italian, Dutch, French, and English painters and draughtsmen. Among these are remarkable compositions, such as Claude Lorrain's (1604/5–1682) head study of a young woman on the back of a landscape (fig. 32), the 'Head of a Warrior' after Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) (fig. 33), or Pier Francesco Mola's (1612–1666) 'Head of a Bearded Man' (fig. 34).

Richardson's interest in heads had several reasons. As a professional face painter, he certainly used some of the heads as models. In *An Essay on the Theory of Painting,* Richardson explicitly recommended face painters to take "*Van Dyck's* Heads [...] and the Heads of the Artists of the Lives of *Giorgio Vasari*" as models.[164] Moreover, some of the portraits in Richardson's collection, such as Rembrandt's drawn and etched portraits (fig.

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157 Gibson-Wood 2000, 92ff.
158 Gibson-Wood 2000, 97.
159 Cock 1747, First Night's Sale, lot 15 and 24.
160 Cock 1747, Second Night's Sale, lot 35 and 37; Fourth Night's Sale, lot 33.
161 Cock 1747, Thirteenth Night's Sale, lot 33.
162 See Cock 1747, Second Night's Sale, lot 25 "Thirty-five mezzotinto, *Smith, Becket,* &c;" Fifth Night's Sale, lot 33 "Eight, *Sir Godfrey Kneller,* by *Smith* and *White",* and lot 38 "Four Heads, *Edelinck,* and *Nanteuil;*" Sixth Night's Sale, lot 37 "Ten, *Sir Godfrey Kneller, Rigaud,* by *Smith*", or Tenth Night's Sale, lot 34 "Six Le Brun's portrait, by Edelinck." Judging from the entries in the sales catalogue, Richardson possessed altogether more than three hundred engraved heads by these artists.
163 Cock 1747, Third Night's Sale, lot 3.
164 Richardson 1715, 99.

35), or Jean Morin's "Heads" (fig. 36), suggest that Richardson was especially interested in other face painter's drawing and printing techniques. Jean Morin (1590–1650), for instance, developed a strikingly personal method for his reproductions of portraits by Van Dyck: First he etched his plates, and then finished them in a mixture of line and stipple. Richardson's etched portraits of Milton and Pope are reminiscent of this method.[165] Overall, Richardson was particularly fascinated by the human face, which he considered to be "the Noblest, and most Beautiful part of Human Nature."[166] It is the human face that identifies a person's individuality and, above all, distinguishes human beings as rational creatures. In Richardson's view, portraits thus do not only serve to illustrate a *history of art*, but a *history of mankind* for their biographical and historical implications, an aspect that is equally embodied in his "Collection of the portraits of friends."

Even before Richardson had published his first art theory treatise, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, he must have acquired some reputation as a collector of drawings, for John Lord Somers consulted the artist in about 1711/12 to arrange his cabinet of drawings.[167] Somers's most important purchase was several volumes of Italian drawings, formerly in the possession of Milanese collector Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635–1714) in March 1711. Sebastiano Resta's extensive notes and observations, relating not only to the drawing's authorship and provenance but also to its rank within the historical development of art, made Resta's volumes of chiefly Italian drawings an extraordinary collection in the eyes of historically minded connoisseurs.[168] "I have lately seen a collection of Drawings without doubt, the finest in Europe, for the method and number of rare designs", observed amateur painter and art agent John Talman (1677–1726), who was apparently in the service of Lord Somers in March 1710 when Resta's collection was set up for sale.[169]

In the following years, Richardson was responsible for remounting and rearranging the drawings taken out of the Resta's volumes.[170] Richardson consciously took two aspects into account: the historical progress of art and the didactic qualities of a drawing

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[165] See chapter V and VI.
[166] Richardson 1715, 25.
[167] See Gibson-Wood 1989(a), 167ff.
[168] See Genevieve Warwick, 'Connoisseurship and the collection of drawings in Italy c. 1700: the case of Padre Sebastiano Resta', in: Baker et. al. (ed.) 2003, 141–153.
[169] John Talman's letter is not addressed to John Lord Somers but to Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, who was also interested in purchasing the Resta collection. The letter is reprinted in Brian Fairfax's *Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, London 1758, 73–79. See also Gibson-Wood 1989(a), 169f.
[170] Gibson-Wood 1989(a), 186f.

collection. He revised Resta's original method of ordering the drawings that varied from volume to volume—sometimes arranged roughly in a chronological order, sometimes arranged according to regional schools—and applied a strictly chronological order. Judging from the drawings' shelf numbers Gibson-Wood concluded that in each of Somers's books, containing between fifty-five and sixty works each, "the drawings were arranged in reverse chronological order, beginning with the most recent masters and ending with the earliest."[171] The arrangement of some drawings opposite to one another allowed the beholder a direct comparison of the peculiarities of different hands.

Richardson applied a similar order to his own collection of drawings and prints that finally comprised more than six thousand items. The exact ordering scheme remained obscure, since the "five books, written catalogues of Mr. Richardson, sen. Collection" as the inventory catalogues of his collection were listed in the 1772 sale of Richardson Junior's collection, are not traceable today.[172] Yet, judging from a remark made by George Turnbull in his *Treatise on Ancient Painting* (1740), Richardson's collection was not only arranged chronologically but also according to schools and to individual masters. "As in a Cabinet in London I have often visited with pleasure (Mr. Richardson's)", Turnbull observed. [That]

> it is only by a Collection of Drawings and Pictures ranged historically; so that one may there see all the different Schools, and go from one to another, tracing the Progress of each, and of every Master in each: It is only by such a judiciously disposed Collection, that the History of the Art or Designing and Painting can be fully represented and learned. Description is not sufficient: the best Writer cannot possibly express all that is to be observed and read in such a Series of Examples and Monuments.[173]

Turnbull's enthusiastic description of Richardson's "judiciously disposed Collection" suggests that a visit of the painter's cabinet indeed must have been an extraordinary experience for the historically minded. Turnbull's description of Richardson's collection also indicates that art-historically arranged cabinets were still exceptional in the early eighteenth century. Gibson-Wood interpreted Richardson's collection of drawings as the tangible result of the artist's idea of a *history of art.* In *Two Discourses* (1719), Richardson conceived a history of painting as essential part of a cultural history:

> Methinks, it should be worth the while of some one duly qualified for such an Undertaking, instead of the Accounts of Revolutions in Empires, and Governments, and the Means, or Accidents, whereby they were effected; Military, or Political, to

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[171] Gibson-Wood 1989(a), 177.
[172] Langford 1772, Eighth Night's Sale, lot 74.
[173] George Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting,* London 1740, 37f. For Turnbull's art theory see also Dobai 1974, I, 669-681.

> give us the History of Mankind with respect to the place they hold among Rational Beings; that is, a History of Arts, and Sciences; Wherein it would be seen to what heights some of the Species have risen in Some Ages, and Some Countreys, whilst at the same time, on Other parts of the Globe Men have been but one Degree above Common Animals; and the same People who in This Age gave a Dignity to Human Nature, in another sunk almost to Brutality, or Chang'd from one Excellency to Another.[174]

It is evidently Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) programme for a "History of Learning and the Arts" that lingers on in Richardson's "history of arts and sciences." In *Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon wanted history to be understood as an empirical study of human achievements in the arts and sciences: "History is natural, civil, ecclesiastical and literary."[175] Although Bacon only perceived literary history as part of the history of learning, many scholars in the following decades and centuries felt encouraged to subsume music and the visual arts to the Baconian philosophy of history. Richardson specified Bacon's projected "history of mankind" to a "History of Arts and Sciences." He considered these to be the main pursuits where the excellence of humans as rational beings is truly expressed. "Such a History well written", Richardson explained passionately, "would give a clear Idea of the Noblest Species of Beings we are acquainted with."[176] Richardson's "Historical and Chronological List", which he placed at the end of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* constitutes an outline of such a history of painting.[177] Comparable to his collection of prints and drawings, Richardson arranged this list strictly chronologically according to the painter's birth dates and not, as usual, subdivided into schools of painting. The list begins with Cimabue (1240(?)–before 1302) and encompasses some two hundred painters of Italian, Spanish, and Dutch nationality, and ending with Richardson's own master, John Riley, and Italian painter Giuseppe Passeri (1654–1714). In tabulating the dates of each painter, his masters, where he lived, and the sort of painting he excelled in, Richardson's compilation is clearly original.[178]

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[174] Richardson 1719 II, 67f.

[175] Francis Bacon, *The Two Books of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane,* London 1605. See Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning,* ed. by Thomas Case, Oxford 1975, 82. For Bacon's project of practical learning see in particular Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early Modern Philosophy,* Cambridge 2001, 6-36.

[176] Richardson 1719 II, 68.

[177] Richardson 1715, 232ff.

[178] John Dryden's translation of Du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* of 1695 was accompanied by a similar chronological list titled *A Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd Down to the Present Times According to the Order of their Succession,* compiled by Richard Graham. See Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, *The Art of Painting [...] Translated into English, with an Original Preface, Containing a Parallel between Painting and Poetry by Mr. Dryden. As also a Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, both Ancient and Modern: by R. G. [Richard Graham],* London 1716 (2nd edition), 247ff. See David Mannings, 'Jonathan Richardson, Thomas Gray, and the Geneaology of Art', in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 55.1 (1994), 405–420, and Gibson-Wood 1989a, 180f.

Richardson's concept of a history of painting dates from a time when ideas of ordering the arts and sciences chronologically were in the air. At about the same time, antiquary and engraver George Vertue began to accumulate material for his "Musaeum pictoris Anglicanum", a history of English art in form of the lives of artists.[179] Antiquary William Oldy (1696–1761) similarly assembled information for a history of English poetry, an idea that was enthusiastically supported by Alexander Pope.[180] Sir Hans Sloane collected facts for his *Natural History* (1707–1725).[181] Another close friend of Richardson's, the reverend and antiquary Thomas Birch, assembled and wrote biographies to visualise historical progress.[182] Yet it seemed to be much easier to contemplate than to write such systematised histories, and it was left to the next generation to ponder over the material that was painstakingly collected by antiquarian minds like Vertue, Oldy, and Birch.[183]

Richardson, however, implemented his concept of a history of painting in his collection of drawings. In order to systematise his collection, he obsessively collected historical notes and data related to a history of art. Many of the drawings in Richardson's collection bear historical and biographical notes written either by the artist himself or by his son, such as the 'Head of a Warrior' after da Vinci (fig. 33), or Francesco Mola's 'Head of a Bearded Man' (fig. 34).[184] Considering his own collection as a means to organise art historical knowledge, Richardson also had a particular interest in earlier schemes of collecting such as Vasari's art historical scheme of the "Libro de Disegni".[185] He, for example, preserved drawings out of Vasari's collection in their original frames.[186]

Encouraged by his scientific and scholarly friends Richardson theorised collecting works of art as a scientific occupation in the *Two Discourses* (1719). In *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur*, Richardson introduced

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[179] See Martin Myrone, 'Graphic antiquarianism in eighteenth-century Britain: the career and reputation of Geroge Vertue (1684–1756)', in: *Producing the Past. Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700–1850*, ed. by Martin Myrone et al., Cambridge 1999, 35–49. See also Bignamini 1988, 2-18, and Dobai 1974 I, 846-66.

[180] See Lipking 1970, 66ff.

[181] Sir Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. Of the last of those Islands*, London 1707–1725 (2 vols.)

[182] See Albert Everard Gunther, *An Introduction to the Life of the Rev. Thomas Birch D.D., F.R.S., 1705–1766*, Suffolk 1984, 45ff. For Birch's interest in current events of his times see Joseph Almagor, 'The Correspondence between Thomas Birch and Philip Yorke as a Chronicle of its Age: the Case of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748)', in: *LIAS - Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas* 21 (1994), 135-179.

[183] Myrone 1999, 35ff and Lipking 1970, 70f.

[184] Gibson-Wood 1986(a), 167ff.

[185] See Gibson-Wood 1988, 14ff, and Per Bjurström, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Giorgio Vasari*, Stockholm 2001, introduction.

[186] See Cock 1747, Thirteenth Night's Sale, lot 36 says "One Giotto, the coronation of the virgin, in a frame, by Vasari."

the novelty of his science of connoisseurship: "I have already been giving the Principles of it", he explained by referring to the first essay, *An Essay on Criticism*, "and here I recommend a NEW SCIENCE to the World, Or one at least little known, or consider'd as such: So New, or so little Known, that 'tis yet without Name; it may have one in time, till then I must be excus'd when I call it, as I do *The Science of a Connoisseur*, for want of a Better way of expressing my self."[187] Even if Richardson thought the name only to be temporary, he deliberately called his method "The Science of a Connoisseur" in order to demonstrate its systematic nature. Then again, the artist's hesitation also implies there is no authoritative denotation of science. When he wrote his art theory treatises, the arts and sciences in its modern sense were only about to be invented.[188] A glance into Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728) reveals the significance of Richardson's choice of words:[189] "Art and Science, are, indeed, words of familiar use, and great significance but, I doubt, little understood", observed Ephraim Chambers (1680–1740), a learned mapmaker and member of the Royal Society.[190] "Philosophers have long laboured to explain and ascertain their notion and difference", he continued, "but all their explanation amounts to little more, than the substituting one obscure notion for another. Their attempts have usually terminated in some abstracted definition, which rather casts obscurity, than light on the subject; and expresses very little of the essence, and obvious phaenomena thereof."[191] Chambers defined science by comparison to art:

> Science, in effect, is the result of reason and sense, in their general or natural state, as imparted to all men, and not modified, or circumstantiated by any thing peculiar in the make of a man's mind, the objects he has been conversant among, or the ideas he has present to him. In fine, science is no other than a series of deductions, or conclusions, which every person, endued with those faculties, may, with a proper degree of attention, see, and draw; and a science i.e. a formed science, is no more than a system of such conclusions, relating to some one subject, orderly and artfully laid down in words [...]
>
> To ART on the other hand, belong such things as mere reason would not have attained to; things which lie out of the direct path of deduction, and which require a peculiar cast or turn of mind, to see or arrive at. A man might call these, the results of particular, or personal reason, in oppositions to the former; but that such a denomination would be thought unphilosophical. I may, perhaps, be more just to consider reason, here, as modified, or tinctured with something in the complection, humour, or manner of thinking of the person [...].[192]

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[187] Richardson 1719, II, 7.

[188] See Lisa Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits. Building the Scientific Revolution*, London 1999, 7ff.

[189] Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences [...]Extracted from the Best Authors, Dictionaries, Journals, Memoirs, Transactions, Ephemerides, &c in several Languages*, London 1728 (2 vols).

[190] For Ephraim Chambers's encyclopedical work see Richard Yeo, 'Reading Encyclopedias: Science and Organization of Knowledge in British Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences', in: *Isis* 82 (1991), 24–49.

[191] Chambers 1728, I, vii.

[192] Chambers 1728, I, vii.

In introducing the collector's occupation with works of art as a science, Richardson did not simply endeavour to make the scientific nature of connoisseurship clear to his readers, he also wanted connoisseurship to be understood as a serious philosophical occupation. Richardson's concept of the science of a connoisseur, in fact, had much in common with the systematic methods as employed by leading scientists of the early eighteenth century. Like these gentlemen, Richardson adhered to the Lockean paradigm of the distinction of ideas.[193] As essential for a successful scientist as for a good connoisseur are exact observation and the capacity to distinguish clearly between things that strongly resemble one another. Richardson was deeply convinced that a systematic approach enabled the connoisseur to "*Observe Method, and Order in his way of Thinking*; not mixing, and jumbling Observations of different kinds, but going on Gradually from one thing to another, Dispatching the first before we embarrass ourselves with any other."[194] Comparable with scientific methods of categorising, Richardson subdivided painting into seven individual categories: *Invention, Expression, Composition, Drawing, Colouring, Handling,* and *Grace and Greatness*, by which he thought pictures to be judged objectively. In order to make connoisseur-like judgment easier and more plausible, Richardson introduced a scorecard system (fig. 37 and 38).[195]

On these scorecards individual categories of painting are arranged by rows in the following order: *Composition, Colouring, Handling, Drawing, Invention, Expression,* and *Grace and Greatness.* Separate from these, at the bottom of the cards, Richardson listed three further categories describing the picture's effect on the beholder: *Pleasure, Advantage* (the educational effect), and *The Sublime.* Connoisseurial judgment is based on evaluating individual parts of painting according to a measurement scale 1 to 18. The goodness of a picture is finally achieved in the mathematical act of addition.[196] With the help of a description of Van Dyck's portrait of Frances Brydges, wife of the second Earl of Exeter, Richardson exemplified this method of judging a picture in *An Essay on Critcism.*[197] Richardson endeavoured to make connoisseurship a purely objective discipline such as mathematics, the ultimate science of order in early eighteenth-century thinking.[198]

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[193] See Porter 2000, 130ff and Jolley 1999, 28ff.
[194] Richardson 1719 I, 53.
[195] Richardson 1719, I, 57ff.
[196] See Richardson 1719, I, 70ff. See also Schneemann 1988, 32ff.
[197] Richardson 1719, I, 57ff. See also Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-Hill, near Twickenham,* Twickenham 1774, 67. Walpole writes of Van Dyck's portrait of Frances Brydges, "this picture, which is an excellent one of Vandyck, belonged to Richardson the painter, who has written a dissertation of eight pages on it in one of his books."
[198] See Chambers 1728, I, vii.

Retrospectively, Richardson even referred to his scorecard system as an "algebraical scheme of excellence in *pictura.*"[199]

Comparable to Richardson's conception of connoisseurship as a science enabling any "lover of art" to arrive at an objective understanding of works of art, Sir Hans Sloane practised science to convey knowledge in a comprehensible form, accessible to anyone interested in this subject, not only to a few specialists. In contrast to many contemporary scientists who adhered to their Latin *nomenclatura,* he preferred plain English as a means to convey knowledge. Sloane's accurate notation and the introduction of a comprehensible terminology is one of his most original contributions to the sciences.[200] Remaining faithful to this paradigm he wrote *Natural History* (1707–1725) in a plain English style, an aspect antiquary Thomas Birch acknowledged with high regard. "Written with an unaffected plainness & simplicity of Style" Birch observed, that "most suited to the capacity of common Readers, & therefore likely to engage their Attention, & gratify their Curiosity."[201] Richardson, for his part, also abstained from using technical terminology, and endeavoured to explain his art theory observations in plain English.

Like Richardson, Sloane was a convinced empiricist, and favoured the scientific method of induction. Whereas modern scientists take the inductive method for granted, eighteenth-century scientists, in particular the Newtonians, had a different opinion. They approved a rather mathematical-philosophical approach consisting of hypothesis and deduction.[202] Sloane's down-to-earth method, based on clear observation and distinction, was simply not regarded as having any philosophical merit by some contemporary scientists. An anonymous pamphlet, *The Transactioneer with Some of his Philosophical Fancies* of 1700, jeered Sloane as "a pompous, muddle-headed collector of natural knickknacks who delighted in obscure speech and even more obscure writing".[203] Yet similarly to Richardson, who educated the connoisseur "*to Accustom himself to Take in, Retain, and Manage Clear and Distinct Ideas*"[204], Sloane considered the capacity to clearly observe and describe resemblances and differences between natural specimens as the basis for any scientific work. Contrary to all critics of his method, Sloane explained in the introduction

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[199] Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men,* ed. by James M. Osborne, Oxford 1966 (2 vols), I, 362, no. 913: "Mr. Richardson imagined immediately that the algebraical scheme of excellence in *pictura* might be applied to excellence in poetry."
[200] MacGregor 1994, 14f.
[201] Birch, *Memoirs,* 1753, 6v.
[202] Dwight Atkinson, *Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context. The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675–1915,* 1999, 21ff.
[203] [William King], *The Transactioneer with some of his Philosophical Fancies: In Two Dialogues,* London 1700. See Atkinson 1999, 23.
[204] Richardson, 1719, I, 200.

of his *Natural History* that "the Knowledge of Natural-History, being Observations of Matter of Fact, is more certain than most Others, and in my slender Opinion, less subject to Mistakes than Reasonings, Hypotheses, and Deductions are [...]."[205] Sloane applied this systematic approach not only to his insect, mineral, and botanical collections, but also to his cabinets of coins, medals, and antiquities.[206] Sloane's careful descriptions made him "a pioneer cataloguer who perceived the need to document his collections in a systematic way."[207] Sloane clearly considered his natural specimen collections as well as his other collections as a means to systematise and to convey historical and natural historical knowledge. Richardson, for his part, ordered his cabinet of prints and drawings strictly chronologically with the idea to visualise art history knowledge. It is obvious that Sloane and Richardson shared the same ideas and convictions that heralded the beginning of modern science.

'Explanatory Prints in Books'

Integrated in Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" were a considerable number of portraits of gentlemen of the medical professions, such as the portraits of Dr. Richard Mead and William Cheselden. Mead was one of the most eminent physicians and members of the Royal Society in early eighteenth-century London.[208] In 1727 he was appointed physician to King George II. Like many gentlemen of his profession, Mead had a particular interest in the arts. He converted his house on Great Ormond Street, a close neighbourhood of Richardson's, into a "Temple of Nature, and Repository of Time." It was said that Mead's "collection of Antiques, Medals, Coins, Prints, and Drawings can be equalled by nothing in the kingdom in the hands of a private man."[209] Mead's fine collection also contained portraits painted by Richardson.[210] He had a particular interest in the history of medicine, and his collection incorporated a number of historical portraits of medical men. Richardson made a number of drawings after historical portraits in Mead's collection such as the studies after the portrait of Dr. William Harvey (1578–1657), who discovered the circulation of the blood.[211] During the

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[205] Sloane 1707–1725, I, 9.
[206] For Sloane's extensive collecting activity see MacGregor (ed.) 1994, 69ff.
[207] See MacGregor 1994, 26.
[208] See DNB, XII, 181–7.
[209] Matthew Maty, *Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Richard Mead*, London 1755, 51f. See also Abraham Langford, *A Catalogue of Pictures [...] of the late Richard Mead, M.D.*, London 1755. For Dr. Mead's collection see furthermore Mary Webster, 'Taste of the Augustan Collector: The Collection of Dr. Richard Mead', in: *Country Life* 148 (1970), 765ff.
[210] See Langford 1755, vi.
[211] Richardson's portrait drawing of Harvey is reproduced in Wark 1969, 40.

1730s Richardson executed several portrait drawings and etchings of Dr. Mead himself.[212] Of particular interest is a crayon drawing of the physician, dated 5 October 1738 (fig. 39). Beneath the portrait, which is entirely focused on the face, is a separate study of the mouth. This composition gives the impression that Richardson deliberately included this anatomical study in his rendition of the physician just as Dr. Mead himself anatomised individual parts of the human body.

Another particular friend of Richardson, from as early as 1722, was the physician and anatomist, William Cheselden.[213] Like Dr. Mead Cheselden had a high reputation among his contemporaries. Many of his friends and acquaintances were eminent scientists and scholars of the early eighteenth century. With the publication of *An Account of Some Observations Made by a Young Gentleman Who Was Born Blind,* in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society in 1728, Cheselden attracted universal attention.[214] Cheselden's *Account,* which describes in Lockean terms a blind boy's progress of distinguishing differently shaped objects, constitutes an original contribution to the history of psychology.[215] In the course of their friendship Richardson executed several portrait paintings and drawings of Cheselden. Richardson's painted portrait, representing the stout physician rather as a gentlemanly artist than a physician, is still in possession of the Royal College of Surgeons in London.[216] Rather unusual is Richardson's small portrait drawing of Cheselden in the National Portrait Gallery (fig. 40). Focusing entirely on the anatomist's facial lineaments, this study gives the impression of a preliminary study for a painting. However, incompatible with this is the original frame, which distinguishes the drawing as a work of art *per se.*

Like Richardson, William Cheselden considered book illustrations a compulsory means to convey scientific knowledge in a concise way.[217] His anatomical publications show that he credited illustrations a particularly important function within human anatomical science. In the introduction of his first work, *The Anatomy of the Body* of 1713, Cheselden directs the reader's attention to the "Twenty-Three Copper-Plates of the most

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[212] Three portrait drawings of Dr. Mead are at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Another drawing and an etched portrait are at the British Museum, London.

[213] *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope,* ed. by George Sherburn, London 1956 (5 vols), II, 100. Further on I will refer to this publication as *Pope's Correspondence.*

[214] Cheselden's short *Account* is reproduced in Michael Baxandall, *Shadows and Enlightenment,* New Haven & London 1995, 22–24.

[215] See DNB, IV, 193.

[216] See National Portrait Gallery, Heinz archive, box "Cheselden".

[217] See Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768,* New Haven & London 1988, 111.

Considerable Parts; All done after the Life" which, in his view, better describe the anatomical particularities than the most elaborately written language.

> As most of the Names of the Parts are aptly given from their Figure, Situation, or Use, I have every-where (to make this Work as concise as possible) omitted in Description what is directly imply'd in the Name; and where the Figure, or Situation, of any Part is better express'd in a Cutt, than it can be describ'd, I have taken the same Advantage. The Cutts are all Original, and done by a Scale after the Life.[218]

In accord with Cheselden, Richardson nonchalantly observed in the introduction to *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* that books without "explanatory Prints [...] would in a great measure be unintelligible."[219] Richardson then continued to enumerate the advantages of illustrated books: "Painting not only shews us how Things appear, but tells us what they are. We are inform'd of Countries, Habits, Manners, Arms, Buildings Civil, and Military, Animals Plants, Minerals, their Natures and Properties; and in fine, of all kinds of Bodies whatsoever." Book illustrations are, according to Richardson, "moreover subservient to many other useful Sciences; it gives the Architect his Models; to Physicians and Surgeons, the Texture and Forms of all the Parts of Human Bodies, and of all the *Phoenomena* of Nature."[220]

Cheselden not only employed illustrators for his publications as Sir Hans Sloane did for his *Natural History,*[221] but was also interested in practicing painting himself. In about 1720, he attended the painting academy run by Louis Cheron (1660–1725) and John Vanderbank (1694–1739) and became a skilled draughtsman.[222] As a result, he developed a particular sensitivity to aesthetic aspects of anatomical illustrations, which is evident in his second publication, *Osteographia* (1733).[223] Compared to *An Anatomy of the Body* (1713), whose illustrations are not minute in detail but very practical, contain a number of physiological observations, and which became an extremely popular medical book during the eighteenth century, *Osteographia,* claims to be both an anatomic and artistic work. In Cheselden's *Osteographia* the equilibrium of scientific instruction and artistic entertainment has clearly shifted in favour of aesthetic aspects. *Osteographia* incorporated two identical sets of illustrations, the second set without lettering in order to "shew them in their full

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[218] William Cheselden, *The Anatomy of the Body. Illustrated with Twenty-Three Copper-Plates of the most Considerable Parts; All done after the Life,* London 1713, preface.
[219] Richardson 1715, 11.
[220] Richardson 1715, 10f.
[221] Sir Hans Sloane regarded pictorial illustrations as a significant aspect of his *Natural History.* He employed at his own expense draughtsmen Everhardus Kickius and Garrett Moore as well as engravers John Savage and Michael Vandergucht (1660–1725) to illustrate his dried and collected specimens. See MacGregor 1994, 16.
[222] DNB, IV, 192f, and *The Ingenious Machine of Nature. Four Centuries of Art and Anatomy,* ed. by Mimi Cazort et al., Ottawa 1996, 188ff.
[223] William Cheselden, *Osteographia, or the Anatomy of the Bones. In fifty-six plates,* London 1733.

beauty."[224] Thus, Cheselden deliberately relieved the anatomical illustrations from their genuine purpose to instruct scientifically but made them a work of art *per se*.[225]

There is some evidence that Richardson, who was in possession of Cheselden's *Osteographia*[226], had a sincere interest in collecting anatomical drawings. He owned "*Tortebat's* anatomies", "*Späher's* anatomy", diverse anatomical drawings, and an "anatomy figure in bronze, by *Michel Angelo.*"[227] He deemed the study of anatomical figures to be necessary for any painter to form an accurate idea of human proportions.[228] Considering that Richardson and Cheselden were intimate friends during the years when the surgeon prepared the publication of *Osteographia*, it is likely that they discussed the illustrations' designs. It is even imaginable that Cheselden used the casts of the Apollo of Belvedere and the Venus of Medici in Richardson's collection as models for his skeleton illustrations.[229]

From about 1726, engravers Gerard Vandergucht (1696–1776)[230] and Jacobus Schijnvoet (1685–before 1733) worked on the publication of *Osteographia* under Cheselden's guidance. After it proved difficult to arrive at exact proportions only by measuring, a *camera obscura* was employed, as Cheselden explained in the introduction.[231] The vignette on the title page illustrates the employment of the *camera obscura*, showing the trunk of a skeleton with skull as it suspends upside down from a tripod before an artist using the camera obscura (fig. 41). Cheselden's concern for the illustrations' accuracy was accompanied by an artistic curiosity. He was clearly inspired by previous anatomical illustrations such as Andreas Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, issued in 1543, representing skeletons and ecorchés in living human postures.[232] Like Vesalius's skeletons, Cheselden's rise from the dead, such as 'The Skeleton of a Man, in the Same Proportions and Attitudes with the Apollo Belvedere' (fig. 42). Cheselden's skeleton Apollo is standing in a landscape with a Palladian villa in the background. However, unlike the illustrations in Vesalius's anatomical treatise, Cheselden's depictions always seem to express a concern for human dignity and do not make a morbid laughingstock of

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[224] Cheselden 1733, preface. Quoted in Cazort et al. (ed.) 1996, 190f.
[225] For the correlation between anatomy and art see Charles Singer, 'The Confluence of Humanism, Anatomy and Art', in: *Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*, ed. by D. J. Gordon, London 1957, 261–9.
[226] Langford 1772, Fifth Night's Sale, lot 74: "One ditto Cheselden's Anatomy of the Bones, with plates."
[227] Cock 1747, Second Night's Sale, lot 34; Seventh Night's Sale, lot 2; First Night's Sale, lot 7.
[228] Richardson 1715, 185.
[229] Cock 1747, First Night's Sale, lots 32 and 36.
[230] Cazort (ed.) 1996, 192.
[231] Cheselden 1733, *Address to the Reader*, without pagination.
[232] Andreas Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem*, Basel 1543, plate 6. See Cazort et al. (ed.) 1996, 128f.

the figures. While we have no direct evidence, it seems possible that herein his friend and artist, Jonathan Richardson, had some influence and critically observed the qualitative diversity of "Anatomy Figures".

> The Anatomy Figures in *Vesalius*, said to be design'd by *Titian*, are prettily fancied: There is a Series of denuding a Figure to the Bone, and they are all in Attitudes seeming to have most Pain as the Operation goes on, till at last they Languish, and Dye: But *Michaelangelo* hath made Anatomy Figures whose Faces and Actions are impossible to be describ'd, and the most delicate that can be imagin'd for the purpose.[233]

Cheselden's figures stand in the tradition of Michelangelo's "anatomy figures" as described by Richardson. Most striking is the 'Praying skeleton, in Profile', which Cheselden described as a "Skeleton in unusual attitude which enables the whole skeleton to be shown on a small plate" (fig. 43). It illustrates in a moving way the inescapable fate of humankind, and religion as its last sanctuary. Cheselden's 'Praying skeleton, in Profile', in a way, appears to be the epitome of Rembrandt's drawing of the 'Kneeling Man Praying by a Sick Person', (c. 1655), which Richardson interpreted as a son praying at his father's deathbed and which he described as one of the rare "Instances of the Sublime in Painting" (fig. 44).[234] Cheselden's skeleton seems to unite the father's inevitable death and the son's desperate resort to prayers: "O God! What is this World! Life passes away like a Tale that is Old" are the words Richardson puts into the son's mouth, words that could equally be uttered by Cheselden's skeleton.[235]

On the whole, *Osteographia* was more successful with artists than with the scientific community. George Vertue acknowledged the excellence of the illustrations and considered this "book of Osteology or discription of the bones" as a "lasting monument to their honour, and this Nation. For perfection of Art in any part of the World is very rare."[236] In Brown's English translation of Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della Pittura Intitolato l'Aretino* of 1770, the reader's attention is drawn to Richardson's and Cheselden's publications when discoursing on the artistic representation of the human body. "It is a common error in painters to neglect the study of anatomy", the author observed, and continued to explain that "Richardson justly directs the painter—that neither must the naked be lost in the drapery, nor too conspicuous. [...] The short English work of Cheselden will be quite sufficient for his purpose."[237] John Douglas, a surgeon and rival anatomist, by contrast violently attacked *Osteographia* in a pamphlet titled *Animadversions on*

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[233] Richardson 1715, 80.
[234] Richardson 1725, 251.
[235] Richardson 1725, 252.
[236] *Vertue Note Books*, III, 77.
[237] Lodovico Dolce, *Aretin: A Dialogue on Painting*, London 1770, 136.

a late Pompous Book Intituled Osteographia (1735) for its too artistic expression.[238] Worth mentioning is Cheselden's student, John Belchier (1706–1785), donated the preparatory drawings for *Osteographia* not to the Royal College of Surgeons but to the Royal Academy of Arts soon after its foundation in 1771.[239]

Sloane's *Natural History* (1707–1725) and Cheselden's anatomical publications indeed support Richardson's concept of the visual arts as a means to convey scientific knowledge. The publications show that illustrations essentially served to make a scientific book more "intelligible." Both scientists used illustrations to objectify their knowledge and to convey it unambiguously to the reader. Cheselden's *Osteographia* in particular illustrates the close relation between scientific knowledge and aesthetic visualisation.

'Enquirys after Religious truths, Speculative, & Practical'

In the early eighteenth century religious and scientific matters were closely related, and a clear separation did not exist. Not surprisingly, therefore, Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" not only incorporated a large number of portraits of contemporary scientists and natural philosophers but also a considerable number of portrait drawings of theologians, such as the portraits of Reverend Samuel Say (1676–1743) or of the divine William Melmoth (1666–1743), author on religious matters. As early as 1711 Richardson designed a portrait of William Melmoth, which then was prefixed to the first edition of his *Great Importance of a Religious Life Consider'd,* issued in 1711.[240] During the 1730s Richardson executed several more plumbago drawings of William Melmoth for his private gallery of portraits of friends, which indicate they had established a close friendship (fig. 45).[241]

An extraordinary example of Richardson's subtle draughtsmanship is the portrait of Samuel Say (fig. 46). The portrait executed in lead on vellum is inscribed on recto: "Rev^{d} Mr Samuel Say. 1739. drawn from the life. by R." Beneath the inscription, in the right corner, the drawing bears Richardson Junior's collector's mark. Say's portrait is of extraordinary informality and naturalness.[242] The face is framed by long, curly, dishevelled

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[238] John Douglas, *Animadversions on a late Pompous Book Intituled Osteographia: or, The Anatomy of the Bones by William Cheselden,* London 1735.

[239] See Cazort et al. (ed.) 1996, 192.

[240] William Melmoth, *The Great Importance of a Religious Life Consider'd. To which are added some Morning and Evening Prayers,* London 1711.

[241] One of these plumbago drawings is in possession of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the other is incorporated in the Bull album in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

[242] This kind of naturalness also characterises a number of Riley's portraits such as the painted portrait of Reverend Pearson, whose face is also framed by natural curly long hair. See National Portrait Gallery, Heinz archive, box 'Riley.' See also Sotheby's *Colonnade British Paintings and Watercolours,* 9 October 1996, lot 58.

hair. The Reverend's shirt and coat are suggested with only a few lines. With short strokes Richardson subtly modelled the facial features of his friend. Say's attentive and considerate look appears to penetrate the beholder. Richardson portrayed Say as a sincere and conscientious, yet clear-thinking and strong-willed person.

During the 1730s Richardson and Say became close friends. They shared a particular enthusiasm for Milton's *Paradise Lost.* In about 1737, at Richardson's request, Say wrote two essays on Milton's poetry: *An Essay on the Harmony, Variety, and Power of Numbers Whether in Prose or Verse* and *Essay the Second on the Numbers of Paradise Lost.* Both essays were published in the 1745 posthumous edition of Say's *Poems on Several Occasions,* which was prefixed with a "fine head of Milton" etched by Richardson himself (fig. 162). In the introduction to Say's *Poems on Several Occasions,* the editor explains that Say's two essays on the metre of Milton's *Paradise Lost* "were drawn up about Seven Years ago, at the Request of Mr. Richardson the Painter, who was pleased with Mr. Say's uncommon Way of Thinking those Subjects."[243] Apart from their mutual interest in Milton's *Paradise Lost,* the two men shared a fondness for writing poetry. Like Richardson, Say wrote poetry as "an amusement from graver studies."[244] Comparably, Say also composed hymns praising the beauty and perfection of God's Creation, though written in a more devout tone.[245] It stands to reason that Richardson and Say exchanged their views on natural philosophy and religious issues as intensely as they discussed literary aspects of Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

Religious issues preoccupied Richardson throughout his life.[246] "Enquirys after Religious truths, Speculative, & Practical" brought Richardson close to relinquishing his business as a face painter in about 1700.[247] About that time Richardson began to write his poetical meditations on the grandeur of God's design. During the 1730s Richardson intensified his poetical vocation and composed many hymns on the truthful magnificence of God's Creation. A large number of the *Morning Thoughts* are hymns to the sun.[248] Richardson considered sunrise the most affecting sign of God's omnipotence. He made it a habit to rise early enough to await the first rays of sunlight.[249] He frequently jotted his poetic thoughts while literally witnessing the dawn. In the poem 'Nature and Art', written

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[243] Samuel Say, *Poems on Several Occasions; and Two Critical Essays,* London 1745, iv.
[244] Say 1745, iii.
[245] Say 1745, 51ff. See also Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *Religious Trends in English Poetry,* New York 1939, (2 vols), I, 144–6.
[246] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 38–43.
[247] Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fol. 1.
[248] Richardson 1776, 8ff.
[249] See Richardson 1776, 3.

in August 1735, Richardson muses on nature's beauties' compared with "the pencil's darling skill" and the "muse's elevated quill."

> Not despise the pencil's darling skill,
> Much less the muses's elevated quill;
> Yet imitation only these pretend,
> How much must their original transcend!
> Human productions both, these brightly shine
> As such; but if these arts you would refine,
> View the great masters, seen in every line.
> Nature itself calls forth our utmost praise,
> Astonishment! Wrapt in unblemish'd rays,
> Faultless the work; pictures, descriptions here,
> Transport the connoisseur the most severe.
> Innumerable works attention call,
> And the collection open is to all.
> A library whose doors incessant spread,
> Around, almost intreating to be read;
> Earth, ocean, air, each element supplies
> Wherewith to entertain the judicious eyes;
> While grace and dignity, the true sublime!
> Assist the mind celestially to climb.
> But, as in writing, purest excellence
> Is seen proportion'd to the reader's sense;
> As he the author's meaning penetrates,
> He judges; thus, he as he reads translates.
> So loveliest beauty is in nature seen
> By him who is most beautiful within.[250]

Richardson's poem 'Nature and Art' describes not only the beauties of the natural world as the most magnificent collection of works of art, it also documents the inextricable alliance between religious thought and scientific discoveries in the first decades of the early eighteenth century[251], an alliance that is also pictorially reflected in Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends", including theologians as well as scientists and natural philosophers. These professions were anything but opposing groups in the early eighteenth century. In fact, many members of the Royal Society were, by profession, clergymen of the Anglican Church, such as the antiquary Thomas Birch or the physician John Arbuthnot (1667–1735).[252] Richardson, of course, did not attend Royal Society meetings but frequently joined them in their favourite coffee house, the Grecian.[253] Like chemist and physician, Frederick Slare (1648–1727)[254], a particularly good

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[250] Richardson 1776, 109f.
[251] Manuel 1959, 85ff.
[252] See Sorrenson 1996, 35ff.
[253] See Richardson 1776, 168.
[254] Jonathan Richardson Junior, *Richardsoniana: Or, Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man*, London 1776, 229. For Frederick Slare see Marie Boas Hall, 'Frederick Slare, FRS (1648–1727)', in: *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 46 (1992), 23–41.

friend of Richardson's, many members of the Royal Society had a distinct interest in literature and the visual arts. Under the presidency of Martin Folkes (1690–1754), a man whom Richardson portrayed several times since 1718 (fig. 30 and 31), the meetings of the Royal Society were literary rather than scientific.[255] Yet it was not only the scientists' interest in the visual arts and literature that drew Richardson's attention but their debates on natural philosophy.

Envisioned as a "College for the promoting of physico-mathematical experimental learning" in 1660, the Royal Society saw itself as an institution founded in the spirit of Francis Bacon's natural philosophy and empiricism.[256] Since his publication of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687, Isaac Newton was the indisputable authority of natural philosophy.[257] Although *Principia* was based on mathematics, the most objective field of science, Newton adhered to an altruistic piety and understood his scientific researches as a road to God.[258] Like many contemporary scholars Newton understood science as a means to uncover evidence of God's will in the intricate and perfect workings of nature. To make divine supremacy and human natural philosophy tally was, in fact, one of the big issues of enlightened thinkers. For that reason, one of Newton's protégées, classical scholar Richard Bentley (1662–1742), used the *Principia* to demonstrate God's providential design in *A Confutation of Atheism from the Origin and Frame of the World.*[259] Even Newton himself eventually returned to theology with his posthumously published *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728) and *Observations on Prophecies* (1733), attempts to rectify biblical chronology in light of astronomical data.[260]

The fact that Richardson integrated a portrait drawing of Isaac Newton after a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller in his "Collection of the portrait of friends" (fig. 24) indicates the artist, like many contemporaries, was indeed fascinated by Newton's natural philosophical ideas. Richardson's fascination for Newton's concept of the universe is particularly expressed in his poetry. Richardson's *Hymn to God* is one of the artist's earliest

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[255] See also John Smith's engraving after a painting by Richardson dated 1718 in the British Museum, London. For Martin Folke's activities in the Royal Society (1741–1752) see Sorrenson 1996, 30ff.

[256] Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London for Improving of Natural Knowledge, from its First Rise,* London 1756–57 (4 vols), I, 8. For the history of the Royal Society see furthermore Atkinson 1999, 15-55, and Michael Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy. Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain,* Woodbridge 1995, 99ff.

[257] Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica,* London 1687. See also Porter 2000, 132ff.

[258] See Michael Hunter, *Robert Boyle (1627–91). Scrupulosity and Science,* Woodbridge 2000, introduction, and *Newton and Religion: Context, Nature and Influence,* ed. by James E. Force et al., Dordrecht 1999.

[259] Richard Bentley, *Eight Sermons Preach'd at the Honourable Robert Boyle's Lecture, in the First Year, MDCXCII [...] The Fifth edition,* London 1724, 246ff. See Porter 2000, 136.

[260] Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended. To Which is Prefix'd, A Short Chronicle from the First Memory of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great,* London 1728. See Manuel 1959, 85ff.

attempts to reconcile God's providential scheme with mankind's empirical knowledge of nature. The poem begins with a praise of God's omnipotence and supreme wisdom by worshipping divine creation in terms of the great chain of being.[261]

> Myriads of Beings, Great as Worlds, & Small
> As not to be discern'd; Inanimate
> By Nature, or Expir'd; those endued
> With Vegetable Life, or Animal.
> Gross, or more Subtile, Brutes or Rational,
> Ascending by Degrees in easy Scale
> From lowest Orders possible to that
> Nearest thy Selfe [...][262]

After having assured that man's fate is secured by God's infinite wisdom and power in the past, at present, and in the future, Richardson gives a startling account of various parts of God's creation such as the world of celestial bodies, the elements, and the kingdom of animals and plants, which he visited during his "Wandring through y^{e} Universe in Thought."[263] In so doing, he created highly imaginative pictures. He conceived "Worlds innumerable" in outer space.

> Some by our Sun, & some by other Suns,
> By one or more by Day, (if constant Day
> Shine not) illuminated & by Night
> By one or two, or more resplendent Moons
> Or Shining Circle is a Zone of Fire
> Their Globes incompasing continually,
> And some perhaps by neither Sun nor moon,
> Or shining Circle comforted, but Light
> Inherent, or from unseen causes Flows
> Around their Orbs; & some perhaps with night's
> Perpetual Sable clad, or Doubtfull Grey;
> Nor Day, nor Night, all these inhabited
> (Or those that are) by Beings fit, contriv'd
> For them, or those for these, adorn'd, & stor'd
> With Vegetables, Minerals, or what
> Is suitable. Perhaps as on our Globe
> The Universal Livery is Green.
> Others are Blew or Red, or White [...][264]

These lines illustrate Richardson's fascination with Newton's theory of gravitation and of the movement of the celestial bodies. At the same time Richardson's highly imaginative pictures demonstrate the difficulties Newton's contemporaries had in understanding the philosopher's mathematical demonstration, a demonstration that was as incomprehensible as God's providential design of the universe. Written in a very

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[261] For the philosophical concept of the great chain of being in the eighteenth century see Arthur Oncken Lovejoy, *Die grosse Kette der Wesen,* Frankfurt am Main 1993, 221ff.
[262] Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fol. 3.
[263] Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fol. 9r.
[264] Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fols. 9r-9v.

personal style *Hymn to God* is a remarkable piece of poetry documenting the inner conflict of an early eighteenth-century empirically-minded thinker. Like many contemporary scientists and scholars, Richardson eventually endeavoured to amalgamate religious thought and empirical knowledge.

Richardson's obvious fascination for nature's variety and beauty is also visible in his occupation as connoisseur and artist. Next to the great number of landscape studies, Richardson's cabinet of drawings contained a number of natural drawings such as Andrea Mantegna's (1430/31–1506) "Bird on a Branch Catching a Fly" (fig. 47), or Giulio Romano's (1499–1546) studies of a dead fish (fig. 48 and 49). These natural studies must have been of particular importance to Richardson, for he mounted these small compositions with the same care as highly finished representation drawings.

Another aspect of Richardson's fascination with nature can be seen in the artist's becoming an obsessive landscape draughtsman during the 1730s. The sales catalogue of his son's estate lists more than one hundred and fifty landscape drawings by Richardson Senior.[265] Unfortunately none of these landscape sketches are traceable today. Yet Richardson's account of his travels to Bath and Bristol in 1734 gives an idea of their nature.[266] Throughout his travel account he supplied the reader with descriptions of the sceneries, which he also sketched. He drew prospects of rural cultivated landscapes with the "mountains of Wales [...] stretched out in latitude, 'till the eye is almost tired[267]", and sketched spots of unruly wilderness, such as the ravine of the river Avon. "The river (the *Avon*) passes between high, craggy rocks", Richardson observed, and described his sensations while standing near the precipice. "The very imagination only of a fall thence made my bones and my flesh seem to be mixed together in one bloody mash. I took care to stand safe and firm; the wind blew stiff and bleak. I took a flight sketch, and away."[268] These descriptions show that Richardson indeed was fascinated not only by nature's harmonious magnificence but also by its sublime effect. As Richardson used his landscape drawings to preserve nature's untamed beauty, he composed *Morning Thoughts* in order to meditate on the harmony and perfection of God's creation as visible in the natural world in the great chain of being. Comparable with the natural philosophers, who considered their scientific researches a road to God, Richardson apparently thought drawing and writing poetry a creative means to reconcile human understanding and religious thought.

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[265] See Langford 1772, First Night's Sale, lots 8, 9 and 26; Second Night's Sale, lots 1 and 3.
[266] Richardson 1776, 331ff.
[267] Richardson 1776, 334.
[268] Richardson 1776, 335.

'The inexhaustible stores of Raphael'[269]

The "Collection of the portraits of friends" also illustrates how Richardson cultivated friendship with his colleagues. However, it is surprising to see how few of Richardson's contemporary painters gained admission to the artist's private collection of portraits. There are portrait drawings by his master, John Riley (fig. 6), and of his assistant and son-in-law, Thomas Hudson (fig. 15), as well as an informal profile study of sculptor Michael Rysbrack (1684–1770) (fig. 50).[270] The only other painter Richardson executed several portrait drawings of is the decorative painter Sir James Thornhill (fig. 51 and 52). Interestingly, Richardson's study of Thornhill, representing the painter wearing a wig and looking towards the beholder, bears two inscriptions in Thornhill's hand: "JThornhill Etat 57. on this July ye 25th" in the top-right corner and "J.Richardson. del: at Thornhill 21 July 1733" underneath the portrait. Richardson obviously gave this portrait, which he executed at Thornhill's estate, as a present. For his own collection of portraits Richardson executed a small plumbago drawing representing Thornhill with a cloth hat. The attitude of the head and the facial expression strongly resemble the representation in Thornhill's possession.

Judging from the fact that Richardson commemorated James Thornhill not only by means of his portraits but also by his poetry[271], the friendship with the history painter must have played a significant role in Richardson's life. In fact, Richardson and Thornhill had many interests in common. Richardson's earliest reference to his friendship with Thornhill is integrated in *Two Discourses,* in which he mentioned the painter's recent purchase of the painting 'Tancred and Erminia' by Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665):

> A Friend of ours (*Mr. Thornhill,* an Excellent History-Painter) has been in *France* lately, and has bought several good Pictures, some of which are arrived, the Principal of these is a Capital one indeed [...] This is of *N. Poussin,* 'tis 3 Foot 3 Inches long, and 2 Foot 6 Inches high, perfectly well preserved [...] 'Tis a story in *Tasso's Gerusalemme,* Cant. 19.[272]

Thornhill's collection cannot be compared with Richardson's cabinet of drawings in size,[273] yet, like Richardson's, the history painter's collection was surprisingly diverse and contained a considerable number of portraits such as "An old Man's Head, by Rubens"

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[269] Walpole 1786, IV, 31.

[270] For Richardson's portrait of Rysbrack see Eustace 1982, 66f.

[271] See Richardson's poem 'On Thornhill, the Seat of Sir James Thornhill, in Dorsetshire', in: Richardson 1776, 266.

[272] Richardson, 1719, I, 75f. Thornhill bought these paintings in 1717. See Editorial of the Burlington Magazine, 'Sir James Thornhill's Collection', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 82 (June 1943), 133–127, esp. 134.

[273] 'Sir James Thornhill's Collection', *The Burlington Magazine* 82 (Oct. 1943), 133–7.

and "A Man's Head by Albert Durer."[274] From a Rembrandt drawing in the Witt Collection, inscribed verso in Richardson Senior's hand, "Given me by Sr Ja. Thornhill, Oct. 1724", we know that Richardson and Thornhill exchanged works of art.[275]

Richardson and Thornhill also shared a strong interest in theatrical and literary matters: While Richardson was a passionate theatre goer[276], Thornhill supplied scenes for theatrical productions at the Drury Lane and Haymarket theatres.[277] He also produced illustrations for *Vinegar Bible* (1716–17) and Jacob Tonson's edition of Milton's works in 1720 (fig. 53).[278] An additional element of their friendship was that both were active landscape draughtsmen. As early as 1711, during a journey to Ipswich, Thornhill drew topographical landscape sketches (fig. 54).[279] Comparably, Richardson used a journey to Bath in 1731 to draw landscape sketches "upon y^{e} places", with which he illustrated his account of the journey: "I believe I shall in Verse or Prose on Bath give a further Account of this Expedition", Richardson informed his friend Ralph Palmer, "as I can find time, but what with Buiseness, & w^{t} with making Intelligable this Many Views I slightly Sketch'd upon ye places it will not be so soon Completed as I wish."[280]

Throughout their friendship, which continued until Thornhill's death in May 1734, Richardson supported his friend in private as well as professional matters. When Thornhill had a legal dispute with a Mr. Styles, concerning the payment for frescoes he had executed for the South-Sea Company, Richardson, together with some other painters, gave testimony in court of the excellence of Thornhill's works.[281] Richardson continued to visit his friend at his estate in Dorsetshire, where Thornhill had retired in about 1728. In the course of one of these visits in July 1733 Richardson drew several portraits of his friend and wrote a poem, 'On Thornhill, the seat of Sir James Thornhill,

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[274] Christopher Cock, *A Catalogue Of the Intire Collection belonging to Sir James Thornhill*, London 1735, First Night's Sale, lots 16 and 89. The catalogue is reprinted in *The Burlington Magazine* 82 (Oct. 1943), 134–6.
[275] Robert Witt, 'Sir James Thornhill's Collection', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 83 (Oct. 1943), 257.
[276] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 44.
[277] David Thomas, *Restoration and Georgian England 1660–1788*, Cambridge 1989, 73f and 106–9. The Art Institute of Chicago is in possession of a pen and wash drawing by Thornhill, a decorative scenery for Vanbrugh's Haymarket Theatre. The Theatre Museum, London owns Thornhill's design sketches for Clayton's setting of *Arsinoe* in 1705 at the Drury Lane Theatre.
[278] *The Holy Bible*, Oxford 1716–17. The colloquial name "Vinegar Bible" derives from the misprint of the headline in Luke XX. Instead of 'The Parable of the Vineyard' is written 'The Parable of the Vinegar'. See Edgar de N. Mayhew, *Sketches by Thornhill in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1967, fig. 17; Marcia Pointon, *Milton & English Art*, Manchester 1970, 31f and Charles Henry Collins-Baker, 'Sir James Thornhill as Bible Illustrator', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10 (1946–47), 323–27.
[279] Thornhill, *Note Books*, May 1711.
[280] Richardson, *Letter to Palmer*, 25 September 1731. See also Langford 1772, Second Night's Sale, lot 1 "Seventy views by Mr. Richardson, sen. names to the same;" lot 3 "Forty-five sketches by Richardson, sen. with names to the same."
[281] Walpole 1786, IV, 44.

in Dorsetshire.'[282] Apart from this, Richardson celebrated Thornhill as "our best history painter."[283] Apparently he regarded his friend as a living example for the excellence of an English school of painting, as he had envisioned it as early as 1715 in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting.*[284]

Being themselves practicing painters, Thornhill and Richardson realised the desire for an English school of painting adequate to Britain's rising status as a political and financial world power in the early eighteenth century.[285] Therefore, both painters spent much of their time and energy—Richardson in a theoretical and Thornhill in a rather practical way—to improve the English painter's education. Raphael's cartoons at Hampton Court played a significant role in this endeavour.[286] During the first decade of the eighteenth century, both painters developed an interest in Raphael's cartoons, which were installed as autonomous works in the new gallery at Hampton Court in 1699.[287] For more than two decades they analysed, studied, and copied Raphael's cartoons: Richardson with regard to his art theory treatises and Thornhill with regard to the interior decoration of St. Paul's cupola and with his "original copies", which he conceived as an instructional aid for the tutoring of young painters (fig. 55).[288]

Richardson was not only an enthusiastic copyist of the cartoons and a collector of Raphael drawings[289]; he became the earliest proficient proponent of Raphael's cartoons in eighteenth-century England. The English engraver George Bickham (c.1684–1758) characterised Richardson in 1742 as an ingenious connoisseur who is "universally allow'd to be a Compleat Judge of the *Cartons.*"[290] Later descriptions of Raphael's works owed strongly to Richardson's observations, such as Bejamin Ralph's *Description of the Cartons of Raphael Urbin* in Boydell's *The School of Raphael* (1759) a successful, frequently reprinted book of practical academic instruction, or Lambert ten Kate's art theory treatise, *Ideal*

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[282] Richardson 1776, 266.
[283] Richardson 1719, I, 75.
[284] Richardson 1715, 211f.
[285] See Porter 2000, 184ff and Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688–1783,* Basingstoke 2001, esp. 271ff.
[286] See John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel,* London 1972.
[287] See Meyer 1996, 18.
[288] The sales catalogue of Richardson Junior's estate of 1772 alone records about two hundred drawings by Richardson Senior after "heads from the cartoons by *Raphael*" as well as "Seven parts of a cartoon by *Raphael*" (First Night's Sale, lot 61) and "Five heads by *Raphael*" (lot 80). See Langford 1772, Second Night's Sale, lots 8-20.
[289] The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is in possession of a collection of fragments of the Cartoons for the series of Tapestries ('Arazzi della Scuola Nuova'), previously in Richardson's collection. See Karl Theodore Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum,* Oxford 1956, (2 vols), II, no. 599–612.
[290] Charles Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae; or, the Curiosities of Hampton Court and Windsor Castle,* London 1742, 106.

Beauty in Painting and Sculpture (1769).[291] As early as 1715 Richardson declared the cartoons at Hampton Court to be the benchmark of excellence. "Hampton Court is the great School of Raphael!" Richardson continued to explain the presence of the cartoons in England in terms of an act of divine providence:

> and God be prais'd that we have so near us such an invaluable Blessing. May the Cartons continue in That place, and always to be seen; Unhurt, and Undecay'd, so long as the Nature of the Materials of which they are compos'd will possibly allow. May even a Miracle be wrought into their Favour, as Themselves are some of the greatest Instances of the Divine Power which endued a Mortal Man with Abilities to perform such Stupendious Works of Art.[292]

Characteristic for Richardson's observations on Raphael's cartoons is that there is no strict distinction between aesthetic, moral, religious, and patriotic aspects. A similar approach can be perceived in Steele's essay in the 19 November 1711 *Spectator,* which he published in order to support Nicolas Dorigny's (1658–1746) projected engravings after the cartoons. Under the motto "A picture is a poem without words", Steele observed towards the end of his essay that Raphael's cartoons are "an exercise of the highest piety in the painter: and all the touches of a religious mind are expressed in a manner much more forcible than can possibly be performed by the most moving eloquence." To employ the French engraver Dorigny to reproduce the cartoons, Steele said, "is certainly the greatest honour we can do our country."[293] The installation of the Raphael cartoons at Hampton Court in 1699 amounted to a kind of aesthetic salvation for the English republic of letters. The cartoons instantaneously became a national treasure. With these works England practically possessed its own normative models of Renaissance art that put it in position to compete with the French school.[294]

Apart from being a national treasure, in Richardson's as well as many contemporaries' eyes, the greatness of Raphael's works at Hampton Court also consisted in the cartoon's religious content. As Meyer pointed out in her excellent catalogue *Apostles in England* (1996) it seems to be a curious contradiction "that given their Roman Catholic origin, Raphael's Cartoons helped to shape an aesthetic style that was solidly rooted in Anglican belief."[295] Raphael's cartoons accommodated the very special affection the English had for the apostles, in particular the apostle Paul. Many English people

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[291] *The School of Raphael; or, the Student's Guide to Expression in Historical Painting. Illustrated [...] from [..]. Drawings after the Most Celebrated Heads in the Cartons at Hampton-Court [...] With Instructions [...] in the Art of Designing and the Passions, as Characterised by Raphael in the Cartons [...] explained by B. Ralph,* London 1759; Lambert ten Kate, *Ideal Beauty in Painting and Sculpture. Illustrated by Remarks on the Antique and the Works of Raphael and other great masters,* London 1769, 26ff.

[292] Richardson 1715, 112.

[293] *Spectator,* No. 226

[294] See Meyer 1996, 18f.

[295] See Meyer 1996, 18.

regarded the cartoon's content more in accord with the Church of England than with the Roman Catholic Church; they believed that these scripturally pure and truthful narratives of the apostle constituted the origin of Protestant faith.[296] In England the apostle Paul indeed became a religious hero. Many published sermons in the first decades of the eighteenth century were based on the letters of Saint Paul, the preacher's surrogate.[297] This attitude also became noticeable in Richardson's aesthetic writing, in which Raphael's pictorial interpretation of the biblical narrative of St. Paul looms large. With regard to Raphael's "admirable Carton of S. *Paul* preaching", Richardson remarked in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting,* that "no Historian, or Orator can possibly give me so great an Idea of that Eloquent and Zealous Apostle, as that Figure of his [Raphael's] does."[298] Inherent to this observation is Richardson's general idea that a picture's language is superior even to the most sublime rhetoric expression.[299] Thus, the artist consciously declared himself in favour of the advantages of pictorial representation of religious ideas.

However, some conservative groups of the Church of England did not share Richardson's view. Being in awe of puritanical ideals, they regarded pictorial interpretations of biblical narratives as fiends from hell. Thornhill, who was commissioned in about 1711 to paint "Stories from the Life of St. Paul" in the cupola of St. Paul's, saw himself strongly confronted with the conservative church men's suspicions. Gibson-Wood has shown that the ever-changing plans for the commission of the paintings between 1707 and 1710, were not so much the result of Thornhill's jockeying for reputation but of the political composition of successive building committees, in which High Church and Low Church attitudes alternately dominated.[300] Many Low Church sympathisers were eager to maintain a clear distinction between the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, and staunchly opposed any kind of religious painting. However, on 1 May 1716, Thornhill finally set out to paint the eight grisailles illustrating the life of the apostle Paul, and completed them in 1719. In the course of this work, Thornhill studied Raphael's cartoons with particular regard to composition.

It was only toward the end of the 1720s that Thornhill also began to copy Raphael's cartoons systematically. He produced several sets of painted copies as well as a large

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[296] Meyer 1996, 67-9.

[297] See, for example, Benjamin Hoadley's *Several Discourses Concerning the Terms of Acceptance with God,* London 1711; George Andrews, *Sermons upon the Twelfth Chapter of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews,* Edinburgh 1911, and John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, I & II Corinthians, Romans and Ephesians,* London 1733 (3rd edition).

[298] Richardson 1715, 93.

[299] For the *paragone* see Lee 1967, 56ff.

[300] Carol Gibson-Wood, 'The Political Background to Thornhill's Paintings in St. Paul's Cathedral', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993), 228–37.

number of drawings for engravings, which he thought to publish as a drawing manual for budding artists, a project he never accomplished.[301] Thornhill's delicate drawings of Raphael's heads (fig. 56 and 57) disclose a particular interest in physiognomic aspects, an interest he shared with his friend Richardson. Richardson considered the cartoons as some of the best models for facial expression. With regard to this Richardson described Raphael's works at Hampton Court as "the best Treasury of the Works of that Divine Painter."[302] Throughout the chapter on *Expression* in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* Richardson illustrates the variety and delicacy of facial expression by means of paintings and drawings by Raphael. Singled out for praise is the cartoon of St. Paul preaching, where he sees

> a Person, Face, Air, and Action, which no Words can sufficiently describe, but which assure me as much as those can that that Man must speak good Sense, and to the purpose. And the different Sentiments of his Auditors are finely expressed; Some appear to be Angry, and Malicious; Others to be Attentive, and reasoning upon the Matter within themselves, or with one another; and One especially is apparently convinced. These last are the *Free-Thinkers* of That time.[303]

Raphael's heads had such an impact on Richardson that he admits "I see the Divine Airs of *Rafaëlle* when I read any History of our Saviour, or the Blessed Virgin; and the Awful ones he gives an Apostle, when I read of their Actions."[304] Thornhill's delicate studies after Raphael's heads, it seems, originate from the same enthusiasm that encouraged Richardson to read the historical compositions as a series of historical heads.[305]

Richardson's and Thornhill's intense preoccupation with Raphael's cartoons at Hampton Court is brought together in Boydell's *School of Raphael,* issued in 1759 (fig. 58). While the ninety reprinted heads after Raphael's cartoons and twelve plates of proportion, anatomy, and celebrated antique statues virtually accomplish Thornhill's projected manual for young artists and applied the cartoons as the exemplary model to a proper education of English history painters, the introductory *Description of the Cartoons of Raphael* availed itself of Richardson's remarks on the cartoons. "When a Man enters into that Awful Gallery at Hampton Court", quotes the introduction Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting,* "he finds himself amongst a sort of People Superior to what he has ever seen, and very probably to what Those Really were."[306] Thus, Boydell's *School of Raphael*

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[301] See Meyer 1996, 34–77.
[302] Richardson 1715, 102.
[303] Richardson 1715, 93f.
[304] Richardson 1715, 14.
[305] See Ronald Paulson, *Book and Painting, Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible. Literary Texts and the Emergence of English Painting,* Knoxville 1982, 63.
[306] Richardson 1715, 165.

(1759) eventually accomplished Richardson's and Thornhill's earlier attempts to establish Raphael as the indisputable model of expression for an English school of painting. At the same time, *The School of Raphael* tangibly illustrates Richardson's characteristic reading of history paintings as a series of historical heads.

'Illustrious Heads'

Amongst Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" was also a portrait drawing of English antiquary and biographer, Thomas Birch (1705–1766), who became a particular friend of the aged painter during the 1730s.[307] During their years of friendship both were intensely preoccupied with literary and historical studies. While Richardson cooperated with his son on *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734), Birch was busy working on an edition of Milton's prose works that appeared in 1738.[308] Like Richardson's *Explanatory Notes,* Birch's publication contained a longwinded biography and an engraved bust of Milton based on a design by Richardson as frontispiece (fig. 164).

In the course of his work on *Explanatory Notes* Richardson apparently developed a particular interest for England's history.[309] He subscribed to a number of historical publications such as the new edition of *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* (1724–34).[310] He also began to collect historical portraits such as Hans Holbein the Younger's (1497/8–1543) portrait drawing of John Fisher, Bishop of Cambridge (1469–1535) (fig. 67), or the portrait miniature of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), by the Dutch painter Antonis Mor (1516/20–1576).[311] In this time Richardson significantly intensified his interest in the portrait as a means to convey historic and biographical knowledge. He began to execute portrait drawings after historical portraits of political protagonists of the seventeenth century, such as Lely's portrait of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) (fig. 59 and 60) and Edward Bower's portrait of Charles I (1600–1649) at his

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[307] The portrait drawing is not known today, but the sales catalogue of Richardson Junior's collection lists along with portrait drawings of Sir James Thornhill and Matthew Prior a portrait drawing of "Dr. Birch." See Langford 1772, Second Night's Sale, lot 25. For their frequent breakfasts and dinners together see Birch, *Diary*, 1735–1764, fol. 23ff.

[308] John Milton, *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton Correctly Printed from the Original Editions, with an [...] Account of the Life and Writings of the Author,* ed. by Thomas Birch, London 1738 (2 vols). See Gunther 1984, 19.

[309] See also Paul Monod, 'Painters and Party Politics in England, 1714–1760', in: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (1993), 367–398, esp. 386ff.

[310] Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time,* London 1724–1734 (2 vols), List of Subscribers.

[311] The present location of Mor's portrait miniature is unknown, yet for some time it must have been in Walpole's collection of portraits, for he observed, "I have a miniature by him [Sir Antonio More], called Thomas Duke of Norfolk, engraved among the illustrious heads; it belonged to Richardson the painter, and came out of the Arundelian collection [...]." See Walpole 1786, I, 213.

trial (fig. 61), as well as a plaster cast of Charles I attributed to Bernini (1598–1680) (fig. 62).[312] The portrait of Charles I after a bust by Bernini is inscribed verso in Richardson Junior's hand: "K[ing]. Ch[arles]. I after a Cast from that of Bernini/lost w[he]n. White hall Burnt—24 May." These examples indeed give the impression that Richardson acquired and absorbed historical knowledge through collecting *and* copying portraits of historic personalities.

As a fellow (1735–1737) and director (1737–1747) of the Society of Antiquaries and Treasurer of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning (1736–1748), Thomas Birch was largely occupied with questions of historical knowledge and its communication.[313] Moreover, he extensively collected historic biographical data of British celebrities for the dozens of biographies that he wrote for Pierre Bayle's *General Dictionary* (1734–1741).[314] At the same time Birch worked on a separate publication of the *Life of Robert Boyle* (1744).[315] While Richardson was intensely preoccupied with portraits, Birch was obsessed with biographies. It stands to reason that the imaginative portrait painter and the resourceful biographer influenced one another.

In 1743 Birch published the first volume of *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain,*[316] which contained eighty engraved portraits; seventy-one were done by Dutch engraver Jacobus Houbraken (1698–1790) and nine were done by English antiquary George Vertue. It became one of the most renowned collections of British historical portraits including historic figures such as Henry VIII, his wives, and Mary Queen of Scots; poets such as Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and Pope; philosophers such as Bacon, Locke, and Hume; and scientists such as Boyle and Newton. Every portrait was accompanied by a brief biography written by Birch commemorating the individuals' merits and virtues. Thus, Birch's *Illustrious Heads* amounts to the perfect example of Richardson's theory of the portrait as an accomplished means of communication. As early as 1715, Richardson compared Van Dyck's portraits to Lord Clarendon's *Characters* of eminent men in *The History of Rebellion,* first issued in 1702, in order to show the

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[312] See Gudrun Raatschen, 'The Plasters Casts of Bernini's Bust of Charles I', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996), 813-16.

[313] See Evans 1956, 109f.

[314] Pierre Bayle, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical: In which a New and Accurate Translation of that of [..]. Mr. Bayle, with the Corrections and Observations printed in the late Edition at Paris, is included; and interspersed with several thouhand Lives never before published [...] By the Reverend Mr John Peter Bernard; the Reverend Mr. Thomas Birch [...],*1734-41 (10 vols).

[315] Thomas Birch, *The Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle,* London 1744. See also Gunther 1984, 47f.

[316] Thomas Birch, *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain. Engraven by Mr. Houbraken, and Mr. Vertue with their Lives and Characters,* London 1743. The second edition of 1747 was enlarged by twenty-eight engraved portraits by Houbraken. See also Walpole, *A Catalogue of Engravers,* 1786, 238.

portrait as a significant medium that conveys historical knowledge and ethical principles.[317]

> *Painting* gives us not only the Persons, but the Characters of Great Men. The Air of the Head, and the Mien in general, gives strong Indications of the Mind, and illustrates what the Historian says more expressly and particularly. Let a Man read a Character in my Lord *Clarendon*, (and certainly never was there a better Painter in that kind) he will find it improv'd, by seeing a Picture of the same Person by *Van Dyck*.[318]

While Richardson thought a person's physical appearance necessary for a full understanding of its character, Lord Clarendon's interest was unmistakably directed towards portraying the character's moral and social individuality rather than his individual look. For Clarendon, proportion became an element of morality when he—for example, in his description of Sir Charles Cavendish (died 1653)—contrasted the greatness of his mind with the poverty of his physique.[319] However, Richardson held the opinion that a person's character can only be comprehended in its complexity if the reader has an idea of the person's look. In fact, eighteenth-century readers expected to know an author's appearance, as Addison noticed in the first issue of *The Spectator* in March 1711.

> I have observed that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure 'till he knows whether the writer of it be a black or a fair man, of a mild or choleric disposition, married or a bachelor, with other particulars of a like nature, that conduce very much to the right understanding of an author.[320]

This expectation was not only directed at authors of literary works but also at other eminent persons such as scientists, politicians, and other professions. In general, eighteenth-century people increasingly attached great value to portraits as a means of communicating ideas about a person. During the first decades of the eighteenth century great energy was directed into the publication of historical portraits. The many albums of engraved portraits such as Philip Overton's *Twelve Heads of the Most Famous of our English Poets* of 1722, or the series of *Hampton Court Beauties* after portraits by Kneller, proposed by John Leeper in 1725, disclose the great success of this kind of publication.[321] When Boydell published *The Heads of Illustrious and Celebrated Persons, Generally Connected with the*

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317 Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641,* Oxford 1702 (2 vols). In 1793 Clarendon's *Characters* were separately published under the title *Characters of Eminent Men in the Reigns of Charles I. and II. Including the Rebellion, from the Works of Lord Chancellor Clarendon,* London 1793. For Clarendon's occupation as historian see also Philip Hicks, 'Bolingbroke, Clarendon, and the Role of Classical Historian', in: *Eighteenth-0Century Studies* 20.4 (1987), 445–471.

318 Richardson 1715, 12f.

319 Clarendon 1793, 109. See Richard Ollard, 'Clarendon and the Art of Prose Portraiture in the Age of Charles II', in: *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts. Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar,* ed. by David Howarth, Cambridge 1993, 189–201.

320 *Spectator,* No. 1.

321 See Timothy Clayton, *The English Print. 1688–1802,* New Haven & London 1997, 60–4.

History of Great Britain in 1811, he quoted the "late Lord Orford", Horace Walpole, in the preface, who assigned portraits preeminence over any other genre.

> I prefer Portraits really interesting, not only to Landscapes, but to History. A Landscape is, we will say, an exquisite distribution of wood and water and buildings. It is excellent: we pass on, and it leaves not one trace in the memory. In Historical paintings there may be *sublime deception*; but it not only always falls short of the idea, but is always *false*: that is, has the greatest blemish incidental to History. It is commonly false, in the costume: generally in the portraits; always in the grouping and attitudes, which the painter, if not present, cannot possibly delineate as they really were. Call it fabulous painting, and I have no objection. But a real Portrait we know is truth itself; and it calls up so many collateral ideas, as to fill an intelligent mind more than any other species.[322]

Walpole's design of the portrait's superiority clearly referred, albeit in an unusually rigorous manner, to Richardson's theories about the face painting genre. Richardson thought a portrait capable of conveying instances of the person's history even without an accompanying biographical account. A skilled face painter like Van Dyck, Richardson observed, had the capacity to make a portrait historic simply by a thoughtful and subtle depiction of a person's air, as in the portrait of Charles I: "*Van-Dyck* has put something of Sorrow in one Picture of his Unfortunate Patron King *Charles I.* (I mean that at *Hampton-Court*) which I believe was done when he was entring into his Troubles, and which is therefore in that respect Historical."[323] Richardson furthermore credited portraits with being a focus for social conversation, when he states that "a Portrait is a sort of General History of the Life of the Person it represents, not only to Him who is acquainted with it, but to Many Others, who upon Occasion of seeing it are frequently told, of what is most Material concerning Them, or their General Character at least."[324] Unmistakably, Thomas Birch's project, *Illustrious Heads,* answered many of Richardson's theoretical paradigms. It is therefore only reasonable to assume that Richardson was involved in devising the whole project.

The work on the voluminous volumes of *The Heads of the Illustrious Persons* seems to have started with an agreement between Thomas Birch and Paul Knapton, the publisher. "Conventum est inter me et Paul Knapton re ut conscribam", noted Birch in his diary on 19 December 1741.[325] Birch apparently conceived *Illustrious Heads* as an illustrated companion to the *General Dictionary.*[326] The very fact that Jacobus Houbraken executed as

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[322] *Boydell's Heads of Illustrious and Celebrated Persons*, London 1811, preface, without pagination.
[323] Richardson 1715, 174f. Richardson most probably refers to Van Dyck's full-length portrait of Charles I in state robes, in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle. See Erik Larsen, *The Paintings of Anthony Van Dyck*, Düsseldorf 1988 (2 vols), II, 312, no. 789.
[324] Richardson 1719, I, 45.
[325] Birch, *Diary*, 1735–1764, fol. 73.
[326] See Gunther 1984, 45f.

early as 1735—some years before Birch tackled the project seriously, according to his diary—the first engraving after Antonis Mor's portrait of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in Richardson's possession for *Illustrious Heads,* lends weight to speculation that Richardson was involved in the project (fig. 63).

Richardson, whose circle of acquaintances included many Dutch collectors and artists[327], presumably had relations with Dutch engraver Jacobus Houbraken, the son of Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719), artist, art historiographer, and author of *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilder en Schilderessen* (1718–21), previous to the work on Birch's *Illustrious Heads.*[328] By the time Birch began preparing the publication Houbraken had a great reputation as portrait engraver; he executed almost all the portraits for his father's *Groote Schouburgh.* A direct account of Richardson's relationship with Houbraken, however, is not known.

The second engraver who participated in the project, George Vertue, was well acquainted with Richardson since 1711 when Richardson was elected director of the Queen Street Academy and when John Lord Somers employed Vertue to copy portraits and Richardson to arrange his recently acquired collection of Italian drawings.[329] In the following years the two artists often worked for the same patrons. Vertue engraved a considerable number of portraits painted by Richardson as, for example, the portrait of Matthew Prior in 1719 (fig. 13).[330] When Richardson began to assemble historical portraits of Milton in the early 1730s, he intensified his relationship with Vertue.[331] Richardson not only copied some busts and portraits in Vertue's collection, but executed several portraits of Vertue himself (fig. 64 and 65). Richardson and Vertue shared an intense interest in a history of English art. While Richardson theorised an English School of painting in his writings, Vertue assembled all kind of notes relating to English artists in his "Musaeum Pictoris Anglicanum".[332] It might even have been Vertue, who was accustomed to copying portraits of eminent persons of Great Britain, who gave Richardson the idea to do the same.

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[327] See the Dutch and Netherlandish collectors and connoisseurs mentioned in *An Account,* 1722, 1ff. Pictorial proof of this is also the artist's portrait drawing of Dutch painter and connoisseur Gerardus Wigmana (1673–1741) at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (fig. 29).

[328] Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilder en Schilderessen,* Amsterdam 1718–1721 (3 vols).

[329] For Vertue's life see Joseph Strutt, *A Biographical Dictionary Containing an Historical Account of all the Engravers,* London 1786, II 387f.

[330] Walpole, *Catalogue of Engravers,* 1786, 257f.

[331] For the portraits of Milton see chapter V.

[332] Richardson 1715, 211f. For Vertue's occupation as art historian see Bignamini 1988, 2–18.

Judging from the list of gentlemen who granted Birch access to their original pictures of historic persons in order to have them engraved for *Illustrious Heads*, Richardson and Birch seem to have mobilised all their acquaintances to contribute to the projected publication. Among these were Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Richard Mead, the Earl of Burlington, John Russel, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710–1771), William Cavendish, 3rd Duke of Devonshire (1698–1745), Horace Walpole, and Martin Folkes. A portrait painting by Richardson representing Sir William Wyndham, 3rd Baronet (1687–1740) came from Lord Bolingbroke's collection.[333] It is striking that every single portrait came from an English gentleman's collection, so that the list recording the picture's provenance is almost as illustrious as the list of portraits themselves. Richardson also actively contributed to the project. Houbraken's engraved portraits of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and of Catherine Howard, the fifth wife of Henry VIII, (died 1542), were done after original pictures in Richardson's collection (fig. 66 and 67).[334]

A significantly original feature of Thomas Birch's biographies of *Illustrious Heads* is that he thought it important to describe the physical appearance of the represented personalities; a feature *Character* writers like Lord Clarendon completely abstained from. Birch's biographies followed a concise scheme: He first provided historical facts, then gave a description of the person's physical constitution, and finally delineated the person's character. Thus, the reader of *Illustrious Heads* reads of John Milton, for instance, that his "person was very advantageous; his stature did not exceed the middle-size; his limbs well proportioned, nervous and active; serviceable in all respects to his exercising the sword, in which he much delighted, and wanted neither skill nor courage to resent and affront from men of the most athletick constitutions."[335]

Comparable to Birch's biographies Richardson's account of John Milton's life, integrated in *Explanatory Notes* (1734), begins with a description of the poet's physique: "Concerning Milton, I will First of All, as well as I am capable, Show you his Person, Then his Mind", Richardson informed his readers, and continued to give an idiosyncratic description of the poet beginning with the observation: "He was rather a Middle Siz'd than a Little Man, and Well Proportion'd; Latterly he was—No; Not Short and Thick, but

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[333] This portrait is today in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

[334] Antonis Mor's miniature of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk was later in the possession of Horace Walpole. See Walpole 1786, I, 213. Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait drawing of John Fisher is in the Royal Collection of her Majesty the Queen, London. The drawing is reproduced in *Holbein at the Court of Henry VIII*, London 1978–79, no. 15. The portrait of Catherine Howard is presumably the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 1119).

[335] Birch 1743, 108.

he would have been So, had he been Something Shorter and Thicker than he Was."[336] While the passage makes it clear Richardson was more comfortable with drawing a portrait than writing a biography, the description of Milton shows how important the artist thought it that readers should have a more exact idea of Milton's person. Only a true idea of the poet's appearance would put the reader in a position to judge the poet's character independently. Richardson apparently passed this understanding to his younger colleague and friend, Thomas Birch.

Throughout the eighteenth century Vertue's and Houbraken's engravings in Birch's *Illustrious Heads* were celebrated for their "great excellence."[337] Yet Vertue himself was not satisfied with the practice by which these engraved portraits were made. The publishers, John and Paul Knapton, decided to send a draughtsman to the gentlemen's collection in order to produce a drawn copy of the portrait, which then was forwarded to the engraver. Vertue, who habitually engraved after the original painting, was annoyed with this rationalised method.[338] Horace Walpole tells in his *Life of Mr. George Vertue,* that the antiquary

> next engaged with the Knaptons to engrave some of the illustrious heads, the greater part of which were executed by Houbraken, and undoubtedly surpassed those of Vertue. Yet his performances by no means deserved to be condemned as they were by the undertakers, and the perfomer laid aside. Some of Houbraken's were carelessly done, especially of the moderns; but Vertue had a fault to dealers, which was a merit to the public; his scrupulous veracity could not digest imaginary portraits, as are some of those engraved by Houbraken, who living in Holland, ignorant of our history, uninquisitive into the authenticity of what was transmitted to him; engraved whatever was sent. I will mention two instances, the heads of Carr, Earl of Somerset, and secretary Thurloe are not only not genuine, but have not the least resemblance to the persons they pretend to represent. Vertue was incommode, he loved truth.[339]

Walpole's narrative gives insight of how serious and important artists and collectors deemed the business of copying historical portraits throughout the eighteenth century. The process of copying portraits itself appears to become a means to attain authenticity. It is not too farfetched to assume Richardson was driven by the same motives that inspired his colleague and friend, George Vertue, when he copied illustrious heads. Yet compared to Vertue's engravings Richardson's drawn and etched copies after historical portraits are of a much more inquisitive nature. Retrospectively, the amateur artist and writer, William Gilpin (1724–1804), observed, "Vertue was an excellent antiquarian, but no artist. He copied with painful exactness; in a dry, disagreeable manner, without force,

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[336] Richardson 1734, ii.
[337] Strutt 1786, II, 34.
[338] Clayton 1997, 117; Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian England,* New Haven & London 1984, 130.
[339] Walpole, *Catalogue of Engravers,* 1786, 263f.

or freedom."[340] For Richardson, "scrupulous veracity" consisted not in a perfectly engraved copy but in the vagueness of a drawn sketch, which made the artist's process of discriminating and investigating itself subject. But then again, Richardson never intended to publish his copies after historical portraits, except the portrait of Milton, but executed them for his own retention. Nevertheless, Richardson certainly regarded Birch's *Illustrious Heads* a great means to convey historical and ethical knowledge.

'A Collection of the portraits of friends'

On the whole, Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" illustrates the artist's multi-faceted interests for both aesthetic and connoisseurial matters as well as natural philosophical and theological themes. Richardson's portraits show the artist was on friendly terms with a considerable number of gentlemen masterminding significant ideas of the early English Enlightenment.

What distinguished Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" from those of many of his contemporaries' is the fact that he not simply assembled portraits, but manually created his own gallery of portraits. Richardson described the process of portraying a person as a process to enhance a person's mind: "By lines and colours I aspire to trace,/And beautify the intellectual face", Richardson muses in the poem 'A better Picture', written in March 1736.[341] Aesthetics and human understanding are inextricably related in Richardson's concept of the portrait.

Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends" shows not only the painter's imaginative skills as a draughtsman, it also distinguishes drawing as an act of reasoning and remembrance. The portrait drawing of the Dutch painter and collector, Gerard Wigmana, highlights this concept explicitly (fig. 29). Richardson Junior noted on the back of this portrait drawing: "Mijnheer Wigmana, a friend of M. Rutgers of Amsterdam, a great connoisseur & collector of Drawings, recommended to Us by Him, a painter & good Connoisseur—This done by my Father, by Memory, one day after [Wigmana] was gone from our House. Prodigiously like." Richardson Junior's inscription describes the portrait drawing as a creative means of recollection and remembrance. Through the process of drawing Richardson not only honoured his friend in an exceptional way, he also reviewed his own life. To the same end Alexander Pope, for example, collected letters of his friends, as he told Swift in a letter of 9 April 1730.

> I am pleased to see however your partiality, and 'tis for that reason I've kept some of your Letters and some of those of my other friends. These if I put together in a

[340] William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints*, London (2nd edition) 1768, 126f.
[341] Richardson 1776, 132.

> Volume, (for my own secret satisfaction, in reviewing a Life, past in Innocent amusements & Studies, not without the good will of worthy and ingenious Men) do not therefore say, I aim at Epistolary Fame: I never had any Fame less in my head; but the Fame I most covet indeed, is that, which must be deriv'd to me from my Friendships.[342]

For Pope and Richardson, as for many contemporaries, friendship was not simply an expression of personal affection, it became a philosophy.[343] Following the pattern of Aristotelian friendship, the eighteenth century considered a true friend as another self.[344] Friendship and a person's identity are thus inextricably correlated to one another. Reviewing one's own life becomes inseparable from reviewing friendship. While most of Richardson's contemporaries reviewed their lives simply through contemplating their thoughts or collecting letters and portraits, Richardson re-examined his life actively through not only writing poetry but also by creating a gallery of the portraits of friends.

In order to review his life Richardson often composed poetry and portraits simultaneously. Examples of this are the portrait drawings of and poems about his beloved wife, Elizabeth, whom he worshipped as his dearest friend.[345] After Elizabeth's premature death in 1725, Richardson began to draw her face and to write poems in memory of their happy life (fig. 68 and 69). One of these commemorative poems was "pasted on the back of a drawing of her in black chalk, made before they were married" (fig. 70).[346] Past and present are thus virtually linked through the portrait drawing representing Elizabeth as a young woman in concert with the poem reflecting Richardson's sentimental memories and his grief in view of her death.

As much as Richardson used the portraits as a means to review his own life, the "Collection of the portraits of friends" illustrates that he had a very busy social life. In the poem 'Leisure with Dignity' composed in December 1734 for his friend, the baronet Sir Berkely Lucy (1672–1759), Richardson addressed his activity as a draughtsman and poet during his years of retirement poetically.[347] In form of a dialogue Richardson assured his friend that his years of retirement were no less laborious than his years as a professional painter.

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[342] *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 101.

[343] See in particular Peter David Fenves, 'The Politics of Friendship— Once Again', in: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32.2 (1998-99) (Special Issue: Politics of Friendship), 133–155.

[344] See Barry Weller, 'The Rhetoric of Friendship in Montaigne's *Essais*' in: *New Literary History* 9.3 (1978), 503–523.

[345] Richardson 1776, 176. For Richardson's ideals of domesticity and matrimony see Gibson-Wood 2000, 45ff.

[346] Richardson 1776, 175.

[347] Richardson 1776, 284–6. Richardson's portrait drawing of Sir Berkley Lucy, dated 4 December 1734, was sold at Drouot in Paris, 14. December 1903. See National Portrait Gallery, Heinz archive, box "Richardson."

You know me well, dear friend, but sure forget,
These hands, these eyes, this mind, can be employ'd;
Though I not in the trading voyage sweat,
The ambient space is not an empty void.[348]

In the note accompanying this poem, Jonathan Richardson Junior celebrated his father as a "philosopher and a rational Christian [...] who, in a life, of most ardent business, could yet be truly said 'to be then most busy when he had least to do."[349] And in a letter to his friend Ralph Palmer of 6 October 1735, Richardson himself explained that he is always full of activity in pursuit of knowledge and never idle particularly during the years of retirement.

> I have not been Long a Man of Leisure, nor am Yet Otherwise than as 'tis with the Utmost Dignity I can give it; Instead I am Alltogether as Buisy Now as Ever if it be Allow'd (as Sure it will) that taking Care of my Own Body & Mind is as much Business as providing for Others. But Besides Riding, which I have done with for This Season & Walking, I Paint, Draw, Read, Write, I am never Idle, nor (I hope) Unprofitably Employ'd.[350]

Like many contemporaries Richardson indeed believed that only a life kept busy is not only worth living but even life prolonging. Under the motto "The present joys of life we doubly taste, /By looking back with pleasure on the past", *The Spectator* of 18 June 1711 discourses on "a method of lengthening our lives" in terms of Locke's notion of the "train of ideas". Some ideas, Locke maintained, "forwardly offer themselves to all Men's Understanding; some sorts of Truths result from any Ideas, as soon as the Mind put them into Propositions: Other Truths require a train of Ideas placed in order, a due comparing of them, and deductions made with attention before they can be discovered, and assented to."[351] Abstract ideas, such as the idea of time, can only be received through constructing a correct "train of ideas." "Mr. Locke", explains the author of the *Spectator* essay, "observes, that we get the idea of time, or duration, by reflecting on that train of ideas, which succeed one another in our minds."[352] In other words, someone who excercised his mind in study, reading, and pursuits of knowledge throughout his life, will not only enjoy the present but also look back with pleasure on the past. Richardson, however, not only discussed Locke's "train of ideas" theoretically; it became implemented in his artistic activities, as he described the process of poetical writing: "I wake up early, think; dress me; think; walk, think; come back to my chamber, think; and as I allow no thoughts unworthy to be written, I write. Thus verse is grown habitual to

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[348] Richardson 1776, 285.
[349] Richardson 1776, 286.
[350] Richardson, *Letter to Palmer,* 6 October 1735, fol. 9.
[351] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* I, iii, 22.
[352] *Spectator,* No. 94.

me."[353] Like poetry, Richardson regarded drawing as an aesthetic accomplishment of the Lockean "train of ideas", e. g., the capacity of distinguishing and reflecting sense impression. The simile with which the *Spectator* essay concludes appears to summarise Richardson's artistic creativity during the 1730s perfectly. "How different", observes the author

> Is the view of past life, in the man who is grown old in knowledge and wisdom, from that of him who is grown old in ignorance and folly! The latter is like the owner of a barren country that fills his eye with the prospect of naked hills and plains, which produce nothing either profitable or ornamental; the other beholds a beautiful and spacious landskip divided into delightful gardens, green meadows, fruitful fields, and can scarce cast his eye on a single spot of his possession, that is not covered with some beautiful plant or flower.[354]

It is of course in Richardson's nature to not only behold the landscape but draw it, and not only to review his life mentally and poetically but to illustrate this review with the portraits of his acquaintances and friends. The process of reviewing and reflecting is inextricably correlated with the process of drawing portraits and writing poems. Artistic creativity and reflection are mutually conditional. With the collection of portraits of his friends, Richardson thus created a memorial to his friends as well as to himself, yet a memorial that is essentially pictorial.

[353] Richardson 1776, 3.
[354] *Spectator*, No. 94.

III. 'To self. Unfinished Sketch.' Jonathan Richardson's series of self-portraits

'To self. Unfinished Sketch' is the title of a poem forming part of Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* (1776), which were composed during the 1730s.[355] 'To self. Unfinished Sketch' could also be the motto for Richardson's series of self-portrait drawings, the creation of which occupied him simultaneously with his poetical vocation. In both poems and self-portraits the artist is engaged in an intense discourse with his *self*, a philosophical category that became substantially modified during the early English Enlightenment.[356] The following chapter is concerned with Richardson's aesthetic exposition of his *self*.[357]

'Hundreds of portraits'

When Horace Walpole first encountered the enormous amount of self-portrait drawings by Richardson at the sale of his son's collection in 1772, he could not abstain from mocking the old painter's obsessive occupation with his self and with his son:

> There were hundreds of portraits of both [father & son] in chalk by the father with the dates when executed. For after his retirement from business the good old man seems to have amused himself with writing a short poem or drawing his own or his son's portrait every day.[358]

The fact that Walpole never saw these portrait drawings until 1772 marks the confidential purpose of these works.[359] Richardson Senior bequeathed the majority of these drawings to his son, Jonathan Richardson (1694–1771), who kept them from the public until his own death.[360] Relatives and close friends most likely formed the circle of people that had access to these private drawings. More than fifty self-portrait drawings and about thirty portraits of his son are known today.[361] It is difficult to specify the original number of these portrait drawings because of the vagueness of the entries in the sales catalogue of Richardson Junior's estate. About one hundred and forty drawn self-

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355 Richardson 1776, 245.

356 See Wahrmann 2004, 189ff; Porter 2000, 165ff; Taylor 1989, ch. 9; Fox 1988, 7ff and Allison 1966, 41–58.

357 Parts of this chapter were already published in 2000 under the title: 'To Self. Unfinished Sketch': Jonathan Richardson's Series of Self-Portrait Drawings 1728–36', in: *Object* 4 (2001/2), 25–43.

358 Walpole 1786, IV, 38.

359 Walpole bought a considerable number of Richardson's portrait drawings. See George Robins, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Scarce Prints Removed from Strawberry Hill [...] for Sale in London [...] By Mr. George Robins, At His Great Rooms in Covent Garden,* 13-23 June 1842, lot 1266 (10th day): "A folio volume of miscellaneous drawings, by various masters, ancient and modern, collected and arranged by Lord Orford" including 39 drawings by Richardson Senior.

360 See Langford 1772.

361 The majority of these self-portrait drawings are in the British Museum, London. The Courtauld Institute Galleries and the Victoria and Albert Museum, both in London, possess some drawings. The Cornell University Library, Ithaca and the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, possess each a considerable number of self-portraits.

portraits and portraits of Richardson's son and other sitters are listed here. Most of the entries in the catalogue read similar to the following examples: "twenty six drawings in chalk by Richardson, of himself, son, &c" or "eight heads by Richardson of himself and others, on vellum".[362]

Contrary to Walpole's remark that there were "hundreds of portraits in chalk", Richardson's self-portraits display a considerable diversity of technique. Besides the large chalk drawings (fig. 71–77), Richardson produced many small plumbago drawings (fig. 78–83) and a considerable number of rough ink-over-pencil studies on paper (fig. 84–86). The chalk drawings—mostly red and black chalk heightened with white on blue paper—and the ink-over-pencil sketches are considered *ad vivum* studies, whereas the plumbago drawings were often based either on these drawings or on earlier paintings.[363] It is nevertheless hard to decide to what extent Richardson used the rough pencil sketches as preparatory studies for the more finished plumbago drawings; some seem to be very close, but no two of them represent exactly the same attitude of the head. Like the old master drawings, almost all of the self-portraits bear Richardson Senior's collector mark (fig. 72 and 76); some also bear his son's stamp (fig. 80).[364] It seems very likely that Richardson, like his poet friend Alexander Pope, framed and displayed some of the portrait drawings in his house.[365]

A few drawings appear to be preparatory studies for the painted and etched self-portraits, for instance, the self-portrait drawing dated 7 October 1736 and the etching dated 1738 representing Richardson with bare head (fig. 87 and 88).[366] Similarly, the plumbago drawing in the Huntington Art Gallery (fig. 89) and the painted self-portrait exhibited in 1976 in the Sabin Galleries in London (fig. 90) are very similar in composition; the attitude of the head is identical. It is unclear, however, whether these drawings were preliminary sketches for or copies after the paintings. In the 1730s Richardson began to copy some of his own painted self-portraits in a historical review. Pictorial evidence can be seen, for example, in 'Self-portrait Wearing a Fur Cap' (fig. 99). This drawing bears two inscriptions on the back: "My Father" in Richardson Junior's

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362 Langford 1772, First Night's Sale, lot 13; Second Night's Sale, lot 41. Finsten 1993, 45 assesses the number of drawings at approximately 142. Kerslake 1977, I, 229 reckons a total of 102 drawings.

363 A considerable number of the sketchier portrait drawings of Alexander Pope, executed in crayon or ink and pencil, bear the inscription "by the Life" or "from the Life". See chapter VII 'Pope by the Life.' See also Patrick Noon, *English Portrait Drawings and Miniatures,* New Haven 1979, 133.

364 See Frits Lugt, *Les Marques des Collections de Dessins et D'estampes. Avec des Notices Historiques sur les Collectioneurs, les Collections, les Ventes, les Marchands et Éditeurs,* Amsterdam 1921, 403ff.

365 See *Inventory of Pope's Goods Taken after his Death,* which lists several portrait drawings in black frames, some of them done by Richardson, The *Inventory* is reproduced in: Maynard Mack, *The Garden and the City,* Toronto & Buffalo 1969, 244ff, esp. 253–4.

366 For the self-portrait drawing see National Portrait Gallery, Heinz archive, box "Richardson".

hand and "the Orig. done abt May 12 1687/Mar 1734/5" in Richardson Senior's hand. Another small self-portrait drawing in the British Museum is inscribed in Richardson Senior's hand, "31 Jan. 1734" and "Painted abt. May 1692" (fig. 83).

It was only in the late 1720s that Richardson first developed his compulsive interest in examining his self by means of the portrait. Most of the drawings originated between 1728 and 1736. Richardson's self-portrait drawings primarily focus on the head and the facial expression. Even in the portraits where Richardson represents himself in a specific role, either as writer and poet or as accomplished gentleman-artist, the question of *decorum* is reduced to a matter of "cloathing". Only in the more finished crayon and plumbago drawings did Richardson put some effort in the decorum, such as in a self-portrait in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 91) and the two self-portraits executed in sanguine, where he thoroughly draws the headgear, the cravat, and the coat (fig. 92 and 93). Though subtly executed, these finished portrait drawings are of a rather conventional effect compared to the self-portrait sketches, which are entirely focused on the facial lineaments and where the headgear and the clothes are indicated with a few sketchy lines.

It is in these drawings that Richardson's determined interest in an unusual and investigative treatment of graphic techniques becomes apparent. The self-portrait dated 15 Jan 1735/36 may serve as an example (fig. 84). The face is composed of irregular short strokes. The sharp ink lines disrupt rather than construct the face; every individual pen stroke is visible, a handling that illustrates what Richardson theorised in terms of simple Lockean ideas in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715).

> A Painter must not only be a Poet, an Historian a Mathematician, &c. he must be a Mechanick; his Hand, and Eye, must be as expert as his Head is clear, and lively, and well stored with Science: He must not only write a History, a Poem, a Description, but in a fine Character; his Brain, his Eye, his Hand, must be busied at the same time. He must not only have a nice Judgement to distinguish betwixt things nearly resembling one another, but not the same, (which he must have in common with those of the noblest Professions;) but he must moreover have the same Delicacy in his Eyes to judge of the Tincts of Colours which are of infinite Variety; and to distinguish whether a Line be streight, or curv'd a little; whether This is exactly parallel to That, or oblique, and in what degree; how This curv'd Line differs from That, if it differs at all, of which he must also judge; whether what he has drawn is the same Magnitude with what he pretends to imitate, and the like; and must have a Hand exact enough to form these in his Work, answerable to the ideas he has taken of them.[367]

Crucial to Locke's theory of human understanding is the question of how knowledge is to be acquired. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) Locke

[367] Richardson 1715, 26–8.

defines "simple ideas" as "the materials of all our knowledge."[368] Simple ideas are sense impressions. "Whatever idea is in the mind", maintains Locke, "is either an actual perception, or else, having been an actual perception, is so in the mind that by the memory it can be made an actual perception again."[369] The process of clearly discriminating and distinguishing simple ideas is central to Locke's concept of human understanding.[370] Richardson links the act of drawing and painting directly to the mind's intellectual process of distinguishing ideas; painting and drawing thus becomes the visible extension of the artist's perceptive faculty.[371] The act of perception and the act of drawing persistently alternate within the creative process. The majority of Richardson's self-portraits represent the artist intensely scrutinising his appearance in the looking glass. Here his concept of human understanding, the assessment of experimented objectivity, and experienced subjectivity becomes the essential structure; the artist is both the object of examination and the person who examines.[372]

Richardson's portraits are most unique for their sequential and methodical character. As in a series of experiments, almost all of Richardson's self-portraits are exactly dated, sometimes including even the time of day the drawing was executed. Entirely focused on the artist's facial features, Richardson used every single portrait drawing as a means to examine his perceptive faculties. He represents himself in slightly different poses, always intensely scrutinising his appearance, such as in the crayon drawing in the British Museum, dated 24 June 1728, and in the one in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, inscribed verso in Richardson Junior's hand, "Mendacium neq dicebat neq patipoterat" (He was incapable alike of telling lies or suffering them to be told) (fig. 94 and 95). These drawings are characterised by coarse and bold brushwork suggesting they were swiftly composed. It is, in particular, in these sketchy crayon drawings and the ink and pencil studies that the process of perceiving itself becomes more and more substantial to the process of drawing, such as in the self-portraits dated 24 and 31 August 1736 (fig. 78 and 79). In these portraits Richardson models the lines of his face with irregular swift strokes. Most striking, however, is the artist's concentrated

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368 Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* II, ii, 2.
369 Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* I, iii, 21.
370 See Taylor 1989, 159-176.
371 See Ronald Paulson, *Breaking and Remaking. Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700-1820,* New Brunswick & London 1989, 20ff.
372 For the dialectic component in the genre of self-portraiture see *Porträt,* ed. by Rudolf Preimesberg et al., Frankfurt am Main 1999, introduction; Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture. The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* New Haven & London 1999, introduction, and Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture,* London 1991, 141ff.

and penetrating gaze. These studies appear to originate entirely from the artist's desperate attempts to preserve the intellectual process of perceiving and discriminating ideas.

In dating the self-portrait drawings consequently these works appear to be both a kind of impartial scientific experiment and a personal diary entry. It is, of course, precisely this conflict, this ambiguity of empirical objectivity and individual subjectivity, which provokes Richardson's artistic interest in his self. Every portrait drawing constitutes a new approach by which the artist endeavours to balance the ambiguity of objective perception and subjective impression. It is this rational approach that distinguished Richardson from previous artists equally fascinated with the self-portraiture genre. The comparisons I want to make in this context are with English face painter Charles Beale (1660–1714), whose sketch books distinguish him as one of the most original draughtsman of the late seventeenth century,[373] and with Rembrandt (1606–69), the undisputable master of self-portraiture.[374]

It is very likely that Richardson, who had a particularly historical interest in British draughtsmanship, was acquainted with the extraordinary Beale sketch books produced between 1679 and 1681.[375] Charles Beale's sketch books contain studies of sitters in the Beale studio, executed in sanguine (fig. 96 and 97). Like Richardson's series of portrait drawings, these studies are characterised by an unexpected informality and sequential nature. There are sequences of portraits of friends and relatives as well as several self-portraits though undated by Charles Beale. Like Richardson's portrait drawings, a considerable number of these red chalk drawings are entirely focused on the face. Yet despite their remarkable informality, the Beale drawings are more composed and less investigative than Richardson's drawings. They appear not to originate from that obsessive concentration on the perceptive faculties as Richardson's portrait drawings do. Rather, Beale's subtly modelled face studies express a sympathetic curiosity for individual persons. Nevertheless, Richardson certainly thought highly of these figure and face studies and probably drew inspiration from them for his own sequences of portrait drawings.

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[373] For Charles Beale's sketch-books see in particular Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings. Vol. I. XVI and XVII Centuries*, London 1960, I, 148–200 and Elizabeth Walsh, 'Charles Beale 3d Book. 1680', in: *The Connoisseur* 149 (1962), 248–252.

[374] See *Rembrandts Selbstbildnisse*, ed. by Christopher White et al., London & Stuttgart 1999, and H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-portraits. A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity*, Princeton 1990.

[375] Apart from countless portrait drawings by Holbein the Younger, Van Dyck, Peter Lely, and other foreign artists working in Britain, Richardson possessed a number of examples of genuine British draughtsmanship such as a crayon portrait by Mary Beale (1633–1699), mother of Charles Beale, described as a 'Portrait of a young man, presumably Bartholomew Beale', landscape drawings by the amateur artist Prince Rupert (1619–1682), genre scenes by Francis Barlow (1626–1704), and figure studies by Isaac Oliver (died 1618). All these drawings are in the British Museum, London.

Richardson also showed genuine admiration for Rembrandt in his art theory treatises, which is unusual at the time; many contemporaries had an aversion to the Dutch artist's naturalistic style.[376] In *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), Richardson first recommended Rembrandt's painting and drawings as models for composition.[377] In this respect Richardson reveals himself as an original critic; previous art theorists, for instance Roger de Piles (1635–1709) had, above all, emphasised Rembrandt's colouring and handling of light.[378] Ten years later, in the revised and expanded edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1725), Richardson discussed a drawing by Rembrandt, the 'Kneeling Man Praying by a Sick Person' (c. 1655), as an example of the sublime because of its displaying "an Elevation of Thought and fine invention; and all this with the utmost art, and with the Greatest Simplicity" (fig. 44).[379] The same edition incorporated furthermore a detailed discussion of Rembrandt's 'Hundred Guilder Print', to which his son posthumously wrote an explanatory note in the 1773 edition of this work: "This was written before Rembrandt came into the immense reputation which he then justly possessed; and which is surely, in some measure, owing to my father's frequent mention of him, as well as here, with admiration and fondness."[380]

From the sale of Richardson's collection in 1747 we know he possessed a large number of prints and drawings by Rembrandt[381], among them several head studies such as 'Four Studies of Saskia' (c. 1636/7), the 'Sheet of Studies with four Heads of Men' (c. 1636) or the 'Two Studies of Old Men's Heads' (c. 1639) (fig. 35), now in the British Museum.[382] He was also in possession of Jan van Vliet's engravings after Rembrandt's self-portraits (1733–34) and of some of Rembrandts early etched self-portraits, in which

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[376] See notably the chapters on "Composition" and "The Sublime" in the second improved edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* of 1725 and in the revised editions of Richardson's *Works*, 1773 and 1792. For Rembrandt's reputation in England see Christopher White, 'Rembrandt: Reputation and Collecting', in: *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. by Christopher White, New Haven 1983, 1–16, and Catherine B. Scallen, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Connoisseurship*, Amsterdam 2004, 27ff.

[377] Richardson, 1715, 132.

[378] Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters*, London 1706, 317f. See also Ernst van de Wetering, 'The Miracle of Our Age: Rembrandt through the Eyes of His Contemporaries', in: *Rembrandt. A Genius and his Impact*, ed. by Albert Blankert, Melbourne 1997, 58–68.

[379] Richardson 1725, 252.

[380] Jonathan Richardson Junior's remark in Jonathan Richardson, *Works*, London 1773, 37.

[381] See Cock 1747, Third Night's Sale, lot 70 "Two, *Rembrant*, his son's nurse", Fifth Night's Sale, lot 63 "Two, *Rembrandt*, young man's picture, and a man sitting by the fire side reading"; Sixth Night's Sale, lot 69 "A girl plucking a fowl"; Ninth Night's Sale, lot 70 "Two, *Rembrant*, last supper and head of an old man"; Eleventh Night's Sale, lot 22 "Two, *Rembrandt*, *Jacob* and *Esau*, and the portrait of *And. Doria*"; Fourteenth Night's Sale, lot 53 "One *Rembrandt*, a capuchin in meditation". There are many more prints and drawings by Rembrandt listed in Richardson Senior's sales catalogue, which could not unambiguously be identified as portraits or head studies because of the vagueness of the entries.

[382] See Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, London 1973 (6 vols), II, no. 360 recto; III, no. 339 and Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle in the British Museum*, London 1992, 77, no. 25. Judging from the entries in the sales catalogue Gibson-Wood estimates the drawings attributed Rembrandt in Richardson's collection at about 120. See Gibson Wood 2000, 96.

he "scrutinized his features in the mirror, and made faces at himself, and cast his eyes in evocative shadows."[383]

Unlike other English portrait painters of the eighteenth century who "borrowed" Rembrandt's colouring and tenebrism for their painted self-portraits, such as Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) in his early self-portrait of 1747 (fig. 98), Richardson was particularly fascinated by the expressiveness of Rembrandt's faces.[384] He imitated Rembrandt's compositional ideas in some of his self-portrait drawings; for example, the 'Self-portrait in a Fur Cap' drawn in March 1735 (fig. 99), which appears to emulate Rembrandt's 'Self-portrait as a Young Man' (c. 1628) (fig. 100).[385] The remarkably similar features and the fur cap replacing Rembrandt's curly hair chiefly affect the strong resemblance.

The two 'Self-portrait Sketches in a Beret', done about 1735/6 (fig. 101), are reminiscent of the expressiveness of Rembrandt's drawn and etched self-portraits, such as Rembrandts crayon self-portrait drawing (fig. 102), or his etched 'Self-portrait with Saskia' (fig. 103). They seem to have been executed immediately after each other: In both the head is turned to the right and the eyes are looking to the left. Just the headgear, an artist's beret, makes the difference. In one the beret casts a strong shadow over the left side of the face, in the other over the right side. The result is a puzzling play of light and shadow. Like Rembrandt, Richardson experimented with the appearance of the self, with the effects of light and shadow on the face. He transformed Rembrandt's expressive and rather emotional style into a more moderate one: the features are more regular and the shadows above the eyes are less dark.

However, Rembrandt's self-portraits answered distinct purposes: While most of his painted self-portraits were considered to be *tronies*, a type of picture that interweaves a portrait and a history piece and which provides historical scenes with a higher degree of authenticity, the drawn and etched self-portraits primarily operated as facial studies.[386] Like Richardson, Rembrandt was obsessed with observing his own appearance in the looking glass. Yet the experience of affections and sentiments always appears to

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[383] See Chapman 1990, 10.

[384] See Christopher White, 'Rembrandt's Influence on English Painting', in: White (ed.) 1983, 20–24.

[385] Noteworthy is that Richardson used this 'Self-portrait in a Fur Cap', drawn in March 1734, as a model for two further portrait drawings made two years later: a graphite on vellum drawing, dated 1735/6 in the British Museum and an undated drawing, pencil laid on paper, varnished, formerly in the Witt Collection.

[386] Ernst van de Wetering, 'Die mehrfache Funktion von Rembrandts Selbstporträts', in: White (ed.) 1999, 8–37, esp. 20f.

submerge the process of perceiving his self intellectually.[387] It is, in particular, in Rembrandt's late melancholic self-portrait paintings where the artist's experimental approach is outweighed by emotional experience. Svetlana Alpers observed in her study, *The Art of Describing* (1983), that "the notion of experiment is indistinguishable from experience; one would rather want to say that human experience is dealt with in terms of pictorial experiments".[388] The terms "experience" and "experiment" were interchangeable during the seventeenth century. Richardson's portraits, in contrast, appear to become the vehicle of a rational mind that not only experiences the condition of his self, but exerts his self to understand the reflection in the mirror intellectually in terms of Locke's epistemology. In so doing, Richardson began to question the unity of human experience and pictorial experiment. Richardson's sequence of self-portraits oscillates between experimented objectivity and experienced subjectivity; experience and experiment no longer constitute a harmonious unity as in the seventeenth century. Rather, the breaking up of these two philosophical categories marks the transition to a new conception of human understanding.[389]

'An Essay Concerning Human Understanding'

Akin to many empirically minded thinkers in the early eighteenth century, Richardson was deeply affected by John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690).[390] Nevertheless, he found some of Locke's ideas to be highly controversial. The more Richardson looked into the philosopher's empirical paradigm of the distinction of ideas as the basic faculty of human understanding, the more he became aware of the unfathomable depth of the human mind.

It was Richardson's deep scepticism of the reliability of human perceptive and cognitive faculties that led to a vehement rejection of Locke's concept of personal identity, claiming that this "great Master in the management of Ideas Forgot himself."[391] The difficulty for Richardson, as for many contemporaries, consisted in Locke's assertion that, comparable to all other ideas, the idea of the *self*, or personal identity, originates from experience alone. "When we see, hear, smell, taste, feel, meditate or will anything,

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387 For Rembrandt's late self-portrait paintings see Edwin Buijsen, Peter Schatborn and Ben Broos, 'Catalogue', in White et al. (ed.) 1999, 190ff. and Chapman 1990, 97ff.

388 Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing. Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago 1984, 105f.

389 See in particular G. S. Rousseau, 'Science and the Discovery of the Imagination in Enlightened England', in: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3.1 (1969), 108–135. See also Paulson 1989, 20ff.

390 See in particular Richardson's *Two Discourses* (1719).

391 Richardson 1719, I, 215. See Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, xxvii. Locke's theory of personal identity was added to the second edition of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* of 1694 on the suggestion of William Molyneux (1656-1698).

we know that we do so", explains Locke and concludes from this that "by this everyone is to himself that which he calls *self*."[392] According to Locke there is no innate idea of the *self*; personal identity consists in the conscious reception of a present set of sensations and perceptions. Like other ideas, personal identity is a matter of empirical knowledge.

In contrast to Locke, Richardson clearly emphasised the subjective component of human understanding to the disadvantage of the object's self-evidence. Understanding, maintains Richardson, is not "regulated by the Evidence that things carry with them", as Locke argues, but by "the Appearance the Evidence has to *Us*."[393] Thus the *I* becomes the categorical instance of judgment. Richardson debates this philosophical question in detail in the first edition of *Two Discourses* (1719). He responds to Locke's definition of a person as "a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing, in different times and places"[394] with an unusually introspective and emotional passage.

> We possess but one Single Point, the whole Circumference of Eternity belongs to Others. We talk of Years, we are Creatures but of a Day, a Moment! The Man I was Yesterday is now no more; If I live till to Morrow, That Man is not yet born: What that *Self* shall be is utterly unknown; what Ideas, what Opinions, what Joys, what Griefs; nay what Body, all is yet hid in the Womb of Time; but This we are sure of, I shall not be the Same, the present Fabrick will be demolish'd for ever. What is past we know, but 'tis vanish'd as a Morning Dream, we are moving on; and every Step we take is a Step in the Dark. [...] This is our Condition; we have nothing left, nothing in store; *we live* (as they say) *from Hand to Mouth*, The Present is the Substance, Past, and to come are mere Shadows.[395]

Man is imprisoned in the present, the past becomes as hazy as a "Morning Dream", and the future appears as a mere "shadow." Man has lost his identity in the "womb of time" and becomes himself an ephemeron denuded of any solidity. According to Richardson, a person cannot consist of consciousness alone and be the same person in any two moments as Locke maintained. Thus, Richardson essentially anticipates the scepticism of David Hume (1711–1776) who was deeply troubled by the possibility that the individual is "nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions."[396] In his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40), Hume argues the idea of identity is incompatible with the idea of change. The true idea of any human mind is rather a "system of different

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[392] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, xxvii, 11.
[393] Richardson 1719, I, 213.
[394] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, xxvii, 11.
[395] Richardson 1719, II, 178f.
[396] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, London 1739–40 (3 vols), I, iv, 6 "Of personal identity". See Stephen 1778, 43ff. For a general introduction to Hume's concept of human understanding see Harold W. Noonan, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Hume on Knowledge*, London & New York 1999. See furthermore Kenneth P. Winkler, "All is Revolution in Us': Personal Identity in Shaftesbury and Hume', in: *Hume Studies* 26 (2000), 3-40. Unless indicated differently I will refer to Ernest C. Mossner's edition of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, London 1985 (reprint of 1969).

perceptions or different existences, which are link'd together by the relation of cause and effect, and mutually produce, destroy, influence and modify each other." It is the task of the memory to "*discover* personal identity, by shewing us the relation of cause and effect, among our different perceptions."[397] Like Hume, Richardson considers the individual as exposed to a vast number of sensations that arbitrarily conduct his wills and actions, whose only moral stability consists in the capacity of self-correcting rethinking sensations and perceptions. Anticipating Hume's scepticism, Richardson begins his *Essay on Criticism* (1719) with the following philosophical consideration.

> We are push'd on to Actions by our Wills, excited by the determination of our Understandings upon a view of the present Sett of Ideas; but These changing perpetually, from the Impression made upon our Senses by external Objects; from the Nature of our Bodies consisting of Fluids and Solids, subject of continual Alterations, and influencing our Minds; from the Inspirations, or Suggestions of higher Agents, or from whatever other Causes Necessary, or Contingent, a new Determination, a new Will, another Action takes place.[398]

Thus Richardson explicitly questions Locke's rigid concept of personal identity. "For since consciousness always accompanies thinking", Locke argues, "it is that that makes everyone to be what he calls *self*, and thereby distinguishes himself from all other thinking things: in this alone consists personal identity, i.e. the sameness of a rational being."[399] Richardson was bewildered by Locke's concept of personal identity considering consciousness the only criterion of "the sameness of rational being." Following Locke, Richardson indeed believed that personal identity derives from mankind's capacity of reflecting sensations and perceptions knowingly. Yet, like Hume, he was aware of the unsteadiness of this knowledge being subjected to permanently changing subjective experiences and sentiments.

Like many contemporaries, for Richardson the question of personal identity was inextricably correlated with the idea of God. This is obvious both from his poems, in which he endeavoured to understand the position of his own person within the great chain of being, and from the *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734) discussing on length the interplay of divine predestination and human free will.[400] John Locke himself discusses the "knowledge of the existence of a God" in terms of "that undoubted knowledge we have of our own existence."[401] "Though God has given us no innate ideas of himself", Locke argues in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, "he

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[397] Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, I, iv, 6. See furthermore Taylor 1989, 343ff.
[398] Richardson 1719, I, 1f.
[399] Locke', *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, xxvii, 11.
[400] See chapter V.
[401] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, IV, x, 1.

hath not left himself without witness, since we have sense, perception, and reason and cannot want a clear proof of himself."[402] He then continued to explain self-confidently that "from the consideration of ourselves and what we infallibly find in our own constitutions, our reason leads us to the knowledge of this certain and evident truth: that *there is an eternal, most powerful, and most knowing being,* which whether anyone will please to call *God,* it matters not."[403]

Referring to this argument of Locke's philosophical exposition, Richardson critically observes in *Two Discourses*: "There is the same difference between the Demonstration Mr. *Locke* gives us (as such) of the Being of a God, and a Real Demonstration, as between a Coppy, and an Original [...] that is, it Resembles such a One, but is not It: 'Tis not an Absolute Demonstration, as we had reason to expect, 'tis only Hypothetical."[404] As much as Richardson distrusts the philosopher's concept of personal identity he also doubts Locke's idea of God.

The fervent debates on Locke's theory of personal identity following the publication of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), show that this aspect of Locke's philosophy was particularly worrying to theologians and divines.[405] Thomas Burnet (1635?–1715), for instance, states in *Remarks upon an Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) that "for the life of him" he cannot "understand what that Discourse about the Identity or Non-Identity of the same Man" means.[406] For Burnet, as for many theologians, there simply existed no distinction between a man, a person, and a soul as Locke maintained in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*[407] Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), Bishop of Worcester, an intellectually imposing man and a most prominent critic of Locke's philosophy, assessed the philosopher's distinction between personal and substantial identity as a real threat to Christian faith. If personal identity in fact only consists in self-consciousness that "depends upon an immaterial Substance", the bishop concluded then there could be "no Personal Identity at all" after death and the Resurrection would be an impossibility.[408] Conclusively, Stillingfleet explained that the "Identity of Man" consists not in the intellectual category of consciousness but "depends

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[402] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* IV, x, 1.
[403] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* IV, x, 6.
[404] Richardson 1719, II, 206f.
[405] See in particular John W. Yolton, *Locke and the Way of Ideas,* Bristol 1996, 115ff.
[406] Thomas Burnet, *Remarks upon An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding, in a Letter to the Author,* London 1697, 12f.
[407] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* II, xxvii, 10ff.
[408] Edward Stillingfleet, *The Bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr. Locke's Second Letter; wherein his Notion of Ideas is Prov'd to be Inconsistent with Itself and with the Articles of the Christian Faith,* London 1698, 35f. Quoted in Fox 1988, 43.

neither upon [...] his Body; nor upon his Soul consider'd by it self, but upon both these, as actually united and making one Person." With this he uttered exactly the sentiments of Richardson and many contemporaries, who feared to lose either their self or to fall away from true faith.

In 1736, Joseph Butler (1692–1752), successively bishop of Bristol and Durham, published a brief dissertation, *Of personal Identity,* as an attempt to see through the debate on Locke's notion of personal identity.[409] Interestingly, he largely repeats Richardson's criticism of Locke's concept of personal identity, but in a less emotional tone. Locke's "hasty observations", says Butler,

> have been carried to a strange length by others, whose notion, when traced and examined to the bottom amounts, I think to this: *That personality is not a permanent, but a transient thing:* that it lives and dies, begins and ends continually: that no one can any more remain once and the same person two moments together, that two successive moments can be one and the same moment: that our substance is indeed continually changing; but whether this be so or not, is, it seems, nothing to the purpose; *since it is not substance, but consciousness alone, which constitutes personality;* which consciousness, being successive, cannot be the same in any two moments, nor consequently the personality constituted by it.[410]

No less critical but more creatively and amusingly did poets and writers participate in the controversy on Lockean precepts of personal identity and human understanding. With *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* written during the years 1713/14, the *Scriblerus Club*—chief members being Alexander Pope, John Arbuthnot, John Gay, Thomas Parnell, and Jonathan Swift—revealed not only the illogical theories of Locke's philosophy but the absurdities of the entire scholarly debate upon it in a most witty and entertaining way.[411] The chapter where Martinus gets a scholastic education of sorts is a humorous spoof on the Lockean precept of the substantial self: Taking up the old ontological concept of substance, Crambe, the student, drily observes that his clothes "are more a substance than he was; for his cloaths could better subsist without him, than he without his cloaths."[412]

Matthew Prior's *Dialogue between Mr: John Locke and Seigneur de Montaigne,* written in 1721, is no less a satirical response to the dispute between Locke and Stillingfleet. It is a fictionalised Montaigne who accuses Locke of jumping on a "Metaphysical Goe-cart"

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[409] Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature. To which are added two brief dissertations: I. Of Personal Identity. II. Of the Nature of Virtue,* London 1736, 305. See Yolton 1996, 178–80.

[410] Butler 1736, 305.

[411] The major production of the *Scriblerus Club* (1713–14) was published in Alexander Pope's prose works in 1741 under the title *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus,* Dublin 1741. See also *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus,* ed. by Charles Kerby-Miller, New York & Oxford 1988, introduction.

[412] *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus,* 1988, 120.

that takes him nowhere. Montaigne scolds Locke for his theory of personal identity and by wittily paraphrasing the philosopher: "The Identity of the same Man consists in a participation of the same continued life by constantly fleeting particles of Matter in Succession Vitally United to the same Organized Body. So then an Embryo is not a Person of One and Twenty: Ismael is not Socrates, Pilate is not St. Austin. Who Questions any thing of this, good Mr. Lock?"[413] Locke defends himself, accusing Montaigne to be the "loosest of Writers" who has "no great respect for my close way of Reasoning", to which Montaigne replies:

> All the while you wrote you were only thinking that You thought; You, and Your understanding are the *Personae Dramatis*, and the whole amounts to no more than a Dialogue between John and Locke.
>
> As I walked by my Self
> I talked to my Self,
> And my Self said unto me.[414]

While Alexander Pope and Matthew Prior had the wits to answer Locke's concept of the self in a satirical way, Richardson took this philosophical problem to heart. Throughout his life Richardson apparently could not stop thinking about the Lockean conception of personal identity and human understanding. Richardson's intensive preoccupation with these philosophical thoughts is first expressed in his philosophical digressions incorporated in his art theory essays. Yet, unlike contemporary thinkers, Richardson was not satisfied with treating Locke's "Metaphysical Goe-cart" theoretically in form of the essay[415]; he turned the disjointed nature of his experiences into a source of creativity and inspiration that resulted in the unique sequence of self-portrait drawings. In considering drawing as the visible extension of the artist's intellectual capacities, Richardson indeed made his series of self-portrait drawings in which he assesses experimented objectivity and experienced subjectivity, a *pictorial essay* concerning human understanding.

'Self-Examination'

How obsessively Richardson was preoccupied with the process of examining the self is not only reflected in the series of self-portraits but equally in his poems, posthumously published as *Morning Thoughts* (1776). As with his self-portrait drawings, Richardson

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[413] *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, ed. by H. Bunker Wright et al., Oxford 1959 (2 vols), I, 621. See also Taylor 1989, 178ff.

[414] *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, 1956, I, 620.

[415] Like many contemporary thinkers, Richardson was fascinated by Montaigne's use of the literary form of essay to make the reader feel that he is included in the progress of his thoughts and experiences. Akin to empirically minded thinkers such as John Locke or Robert Boyle, Richardson used the essay to mirror the disjointed nature of his experiences. See Roger Smith, 'Self-reflection and the Self', in: Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self. Histories from the Rennaissance to the Present*, London 1997, 53.

signed and dated most of his poems systematically. In a few cases self-portraits and poems are dated the same day; for instance, the poem 'Whim' and a 'Self-portrait' in the British Museum, both bear the date "6 Ap 33" (fig. 105 and 106). Like his self-portraits, Richardson's poems, described by his son as a "glorious series of a daily philosophical and poetical history of his mind"[416], are dedicated to the progress of the artist's thoughts. Richardson professes that in writing down his thoughts in verses he pretends, however,

> to no finished poetry, no nice correction; they are works of another kind, like sketches in drawings; and which connoisseurs are very far from despising for being so; these having an ease and spirit not to be found often in accuracy and labour. The truth is, new thoughts allow me neither leisure nor inclination to polish the circumstances of their predecessors. [...] I call those, *Thoughts*, not poems; consider them accordingly; or as in verse what *familiar letters* are in prose, where the natural flow of the soul hath a beauty and force which the most studied orations frequently want.[417]

Thus, Richardson deliberately dissociates himself from the aesthetic ideal of accurate poetry as it was upheld in Augustan England and as it flourished in Pope's elegant and sophisticated versification.[418] Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* are meditations, the posture being thoughts conceived at the dawn of the day. As much as Richardson compulsively used self-portrait drawings as a means to preserve the fluctuation of his sensuous impressions, he acutely felt the power of poetical verses to preserve the flux of his thoughts. He endeavoured to express this sensation in his poem, 'The Use of my Writing', composed in May 1734.

> Alone as oft I am, ('Tis my delight)
> I think, and think, and what I think, I write.
> The naked thought, an unsubstantial shade,
> Embody'd thus, a living creature made;
> It else had wander'd in the air, at most
> It had to all but to myself been lost,
> Perhaps had by myself forgotten been;
> Not so, substantial now, 'tis felt, 'tis seen;[419]

Evidently Richardson wrote poetry as a means to give form and substance to the swift fluctuation of his thoughts and ideas. Comparably he used portrait drawings as a means to substantialise his perceptions. Only the process of drawing and writing enabled Richardson to sense the nature of his thoughts, ideas, and sentiments to perceive the relations of cause and effect among his different perceptions: "'tis felt, 'tis seen." Corresponding to his aesthetic idea of "no finished poetry", Richardson shows a unique

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[416] Richardson 1776, 258.
[417] Richardson 1776, 3f.
[418] See Blanford Parker, *The Triumph of Augustan Poetics. English Literary Culture from Butler to Johnson*, Cambridge 1998, 96-135.
[419] Richardson 1775, 62.

enthusiasm for the sketchiness in drawings. In the poem 'My Manner of Writing', Richardson muses on the idea that the

> [...] greatest masters often fetch
> More glory from a rapid sketch,
> Than from the most completing toil,
> And charge of colours, cloth, and oil. [420]

In an accompanying note to this poem Richardson Junior observed that as sketches are "often allowed to have more energy and expression, however, incorrect than his most finished pictures...the models in terra cotta...give far more delight to connoisseurs, than their finished statues." Complacently and self-consciously, Richardson's son concluded with the remark, "the marble is for the great, the clay for the knowing."[421] In *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715) Richardson delineates drawings as "the very Spirit and Quintessence of the Art." More than finished paintings, drawings allow the beholder to follow step by step the artist's way of thinking. "there we see the Steps the Master took, the Materials with which he made his finish'd Paintings, which are little other than Copies of these, and frequently (at least in part) by some other Hand."[422] Drawings, Richardson continued, "are undoubtedly altogether his [the artist's] Own, and true and proper Originals."[423] These remarks explain why Richardson compared *Morning Thoughts* to "sketches in drawings." Richardson's admiration for sketches, whether in poetry or painting, derives from his conviction that there is no other form that so directly exposes the creative process from thought to image and so directly reveals the artist's intellectual capacity of discriminating ideas.

Among Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* are a number of poems titled 'Self-examination.' The following comparison between two self-portraits drawn in August 1736 (fig. 78 and 79) and the poem 'Self-examination', written on 9 November 1736, will not only show how vital the process of examining the self is to Richardson, but demonstrate the difference in form and content between the artist's self-examination by means of his self-portrait drawings and poems.

> Self-Examination
> Again my heart sustain thy wonted task,
> And answer honestly to what I ask.
> "Hast thou apply'd with diligence and care,
> Examin'd what thy prejudices are?"
> Forthwith my heart this steady answer brought;
> "I, in the love of truth, the truth have sought."

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[420] Richardson 1776, 125f.
[421] Richardson Junior's remark in Richardson 1776, 126.
[422] Richardson 1715, 140.
[423] Richardson 1715, 141.

Not satisfy'd with what it spoke in haste,
Again I said; "Opinions, long embrac'd,
Were they examin'd well, and are they still?
Hast thou maintain'd a rectitude of will?
Conformable have all thy actions been?
And is all pure, all peacable, within?"

Gravely the heart returns; "What can I more?
God hears, were *Satan* list'ning at the door,
Did both demand, and death attending nigh!
I durst, and would, with confidence reply;
"Self-love by nature was supremely taught,
And, in the love of truth, the truth I sought."

And well may truth be lov'd; the more we know,
More rich the streams of consolation flow;
Doubt, fear, affliction, and despair arise,
Not from the truth divine, but human lies.
Just praise to truth divine; the more 'tis known,
The brighter goodness infinite is shown!

Such praise I now and ever pay; bestow'd
By omnipresent truth, the only good.
His am I, all is his, and all is pure;
The sweetest truth! "All is in God secure."[424]

The poem and the self-portraits realise self-examination in two entirely different modes. Whereas the poem is characterised by a moral and personal tone, the portraits are of a rather empirical and scientific character. Both are, however, determined by a discursive structure. The portraits are the result of the artist's dialogue with his appearance in the looking glass, by which he adheres to his perceptive faculty. In both self-portraits Richardson intensely scrutinises his exterior; the expression in his investigating eyes appears to fluctuate between a certain melancholy and contentedness, a dichotomy that also characterises the poem's air. The poem constitutes a soliloquy by which Richardson examines the moral disposition of his self, his ethical liabilities and endeavours—in the terms of Pope—to "vindicate the ways from God to Man."[425]

Richardson's poem and portraits accomplish in different modes what empirically minded thinkers of the early English Enlightenment theorised: "Recognize yourself! ... 'Divide yourself.' Be two!'" is Shaftesbury's philosophical advice to the author.[426] "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan/The proper study of mankind is Man" is

[424] Richardson 1776, 158f.
[425] *An Essay on Man* I, 16, in: *Pope's Poems*, III.1, 14.
[426] See Shaftesbury's *Soliloquy, or an Advice to the Author*, in: *The Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* 1999, 77. For Shaftesbury's view on personal identity see Winkler 2000, 3-40.

Alexander Pope's famous appeal to the reader of *An Essay on Man* (1733).[427] Shaftesbury and Pope virtually transformed Michel de Montaigne's (1533–1592) cautious question, "*Que sais-je*", into an imperative, and advertised the self as an object of examination.[428]

The popularity of this philosophical approach is expressed in John Mason's treatise, *Self-Knowledge,* a guidebook to show "the Nature and Benefit of That Important Science and the Way to attain it."[429] Not astonishingly, the treatise was first published in 1745 under the motto "The proper Study of Mankind is Man."[430] In the eighteenth century alone it went through twelve editions. Most interesting is the third part of this book, where Mason, a nonconformist minster, gives practical instructions for attaining self-knowledge. Under the title "Self-examination necessary to Self-knowledge", he explains at great length that "*The first Thing necessary to Self-Knowledge* is Self-Inspection [...] We must first suspect ourselves, then examine ourselves, then watch ourselves, if we expect ever to know ourselves." He then continues to provide the reader with a practical list of self-examining questions: "What am I?" For what was I made? And to what End have I been preserved so long, by the Favour of my Maker? Do I remember, forget those Ends? Have I answered, or perverted them?—What have I been doing since I came into the World or myself the better for my living so many Years in it?—What is my allowed Course of Actions?" [431] He finishes his moral guideline with the advice that "This Self-Excitation and Scrutiny must be very frequently made", and recommends his readers to examine their self in their "'Morning Retreat", for "we cannot preserve throughout the Day that calm and even Temper we may then be in."[432]

Richardson's *Morning Thoughts,* and in context with these, the self-portrait drawings, accomplish Mason's method of self-examination in a creative way. While Richardson's 'Self- examination' implicitly make Mason's questions subject of the artist's soliloquy, the artist's self-portrait appears to be the pictorial counterpart to Mason's advice: in order to know ourselves "we must first suspect ourselves, then examine ourselves, then watch ourselves."

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[427] *An Essay on Man,* epistle II, l. 1-2, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 53. Alexander Pope published the first three epistles of *An Essay on Man* anonymously in 1733. See [Alexander Pope], *An Essay on Man. Adress'd to a Friend,* London 1733.

[428] The first edition of Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* appeared in Bordeaux in 1580 under the title *Les Essais de Messire Michel Seigneur de Montaigne.* Publications such as *An Abstract of the most Curious and Excellent Thoughts in Seigneur de Montaigne's Essays: [...] Done into English from the French original,* London 1701 show the popularity of the philosopher's thoughts in eighteenth-century England. See also Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays,* ed. by Michael Andrew Screech, London 1991, introduction.

[429] John Mason, *Self-Knowledge,* London 1743 (4th edition).

[430] *An Essay on Man,* epistle II, l. 2, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 53.

[431] Mason 1753, 144–157. The pagination is mistaken; pages 144 and 157 succeed one another.

[432] John Mason 1753, 158.

Richardson's poems and self-portraits, written and drawn simultaneously, appear to reveal utterly different facets of Richardson's self, facets that complement one another: while he poetically examines his self against a moral pattern; his drawings stress his empirical approach in terms of Locke's epistemology. It is, however, the artist's cognitive faculty, the process of examining and reasoning, which structures both. Richardson presents himself not just in the role of the empirical thinker, he rather attempts to visualise the process of thinking, a process that in turn encompasses a person's identity. Similar to Montaigne's *Essais* or Shaftesbury's *Soliloquy,* Richardson's sequences of poems and self-portrait drawings are determined by a discursive and dialectic structure: They turn out to be aesthetic essays in order to examine as well as redesign the self, but a self that remains ephemeral and subject to change.

'I am Pope, Milton, Virgil and Homer Here.'

While most of Richardson's unfinished self-portrait drawings result directly from the artist's experiments with his perceptive faculties, the more finished crayon and plumbago drawings constitute a kind of pictorial role playing, imagining his self in different *personae dramatis.* In most of these drawings Richardson represents himself in the role of the virtuoso, or artist-amateur, wearing informal dress and cloth hat (fig. 91), or of the gentleman-connoisseur dressed in formal guise and wig (fig. 92 and 93).[433]

Paradoxically, he never accepted the role of practicing painter representing his self in his studio or with his trade's tools, although the mechanical process of drawing and painting itself played such an important role in his theory of art.[434] It is moreover interesting to see that Richardson even perceives a drawing representing an artist seated at an easel, attributed to a follower of Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), as a caricature (fig. 104). This drawing, which he mounted for William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire (1671–1729), is inscribed in Richardson's hand, "*Caricatura d'Alessandricio, Facchino, Modello d'Annibale.*"[435] Richardson's classification of this drawing strengthens the artist's idea of painting as a purely intellectual process in terms of Locke's epistemology.

Exceptional is Richardson's representation as *poeta laureatus.* There are two self-portrait drawings known today representing the artist in this role: a plumbago drawing in the British Museum (fig. 107), and one in the Cornell University Library (fig. 108). Both

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[433] See Finsten 1993, 46.

[434] See particularly Richardson 1715, 26ff.

[435] See Jeremy Wood, 'Padre Resta as a Collector of Carraci Drawings', in: *Master Drawings* 24 (1996), 3–71, esp. 13ff.

are composed as bust portraits and bear Richardson Junior's collector mark.[436] Richardson is looking sincerely at the beholder or, respectively, into the looking glass. These are the only two known self-portraits in which Richardson represents himself entirely *en face*. He is wearing a plain shirt and is crowned with a laurel wreath. He appears uncertain whether the laurel suits him or not. On the back of the self-portrait, which is at Cornell, Richardson wrote a poem praising his poetical artistry.

> Yes Pope, yes Milton I am Bayes'd you see.
> But Why—go ask my Oracle, not Me:
> Shee, not Severe is Beautyfull, & Wise,
> Shee Thus Commanded me, & Thus it is.
> May you enjoy your plenitude of Fame
> While Shee with Smiles embellishes my Name
> I ask not Your Applause, nor Censure Fear,
> I am Pope, Milton, Virgil and Homer Here.
> 12 April 1732 JR.

Above this poem is a sketch in pencil, "a small caricature wigged head in profile, nose and chin up, eyelid down—the very portrait of self-satisfaction", drawn by an anonymous hand.[437] However, Richardson apparently never intended this poem for a wider public audience. It was privately dedicated to a friend, most likely Mrs. Catherine Knapp. Richards met her several times in the early 1730s. His son described her as a "lady of family and fortune, and fine qualifications [...] for whom my father had himself an extraordinary esteem and regard."[438] Apparently she was very interested in literature and poetry, and Richardson was very fond of her. Their poetical friendship became a source of inspiration for the aging artist. He made several portrait drawings of Mrs. Knapp, most in profile, the most idealising kind of portrait (fig. 109 and 110). Another evidence of this close friendship is a drawing mentioned by Wimsatt, which represents Richardson himself looking out from behind Mrs. Knapp.[439]

Between 1731 and 1733 Richardson wrote a number of poems, some about and some dedicated to Mrs. Knapp. These poems, such as 'Whim' or 'Flowers and Fruits', (fig. 106)[440] expressed an admiration for the lady, ardent enough for his son to feel obliged to explain the nature of their friendship in conjunction with the easy nature of his father's poetry. "All these sort of addresses to Mrs. Knapp", adds Richardson Junior by way of explanation,

> were only the amusement of overflow of a lively imagination, unbending itself from those high subjects he so often treats; much like what is commonly supposed of

[436] See Lugt 1921, 403f.
[437] Wimsatt 1965, 157.
[438] Richardson 1776, 251.
[439] The present location of this drawing is unknown. See Wimsatt 1965, 139.
[440] Richardson 1776, 264f.

> Petrarch's to Laura; and she, who was a very ingenious woman, not young (at least five and forty!) understood them as such.[441]

By comparing his father to Petrarch and Mrs. Knapp to Laura, Richardson Junior alluded, however, to the amorous nature of their friendship. The above-cited poem on the back of Richardson's self-portrait as *poeta laureatus* begins as a dialogue with Pope and Milton. Richardson reveals to them that he is laureate, too, but does not know why. It is the "oracle" that has led him to this fame. After he described the oracle as the creative muse, Richardson, the poet laureate, becomes estranged from Pope's and Milton's fame. He does not claim to be publicly celebrated like these two famous English poets. Rather he asserts a private fame "here" in this literary self-portrait. Lonsdale suggested interpreting the oracle as Mrs. Knapp, who has "commanded" a self-portrait as poet laureate. "It was her friendship [...] that made him feel 'I am Pope, Milton, Virgil, Homer Here'."[442] Thus this poem, in connection with the self-portrait, is a very personal declaration of the artist's deep affection for Mrs. Knapp.

But then, Richardson might deliberately have employed the term oracle to suggest a link not only to Mrs. Knapp but to the antique Oracle, the prophecy of Delphi, which says *Know thyself*[443], a philosophical concept that largely occupied Richardson's thoughts during these years. Similar to the self-portrait drawing, the poem became a structural means to meditate on identity. Comparably, the portrait, which discloses the artist's consideration of the objective appearance in the mirror and his subjective awareness of his self, the poem refers to these two essential elements of perception. In the poem's first line Richardson represents himself in the third person; he is *seen by* Milton and Pope. Only in the last line does Richardson become "Milton, Pope, Virgil and Homer Here." The artist's 'you' is shifting towards the artist's 'I.'[444] The drawn self-portrait implies these two dimensions as well: It is, on the one hand, a portrait of Richardson that represents himself as poet laureate to the beholder, particularly Mrs. Knapp and, on the other hand, a kind of soliloquy between Richardson and his self in the mirror.

Richardson's interpretation of his own person as "Pope, Milton, Virgil and Homer Here" is, however, a method of aesthetic idealisation widely applied in the early eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century poets often were stylised as ancient poets laureate.[445] Early on in his career Pope, for example, portrayed himself as ancient *poeta*

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[441] Richardson 1776, 265.
[442] Lonsdale 1985, 182.
[443] *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. By Joachim Ritter et al., Basel 1971 continuing (11 vols), V (1980), 406.
[444] See Brilliant 1990, 141ff.
[445] See in particular David Piper, *The Image of the Poet*, Oxford 1982, 43ff.

laureates, and two of his earliest mentors, William Wycherley (1641–1715) and William Walsh (1663–1708), frequently compared him to Virgil and Homer.[446] During the 1730s Richardson represented Pope not only as the poet laureate in the classical profile but portrayed Pope also in the roles of Chaucer (fig. 217) and Milton (fig. 159).[447] These portraits, in which Pope's facial expression is conflated with those of Chaucer or Milton, are "exercises in the search for the perfect image."[448] Compared to these portraits, Richardson's self-portrait as *poeta laureatus* appears rather as a masqueraded allusion. He simply does not look like an ancient poet but like an English gentleman disguised as an ancient poet. However, Richardson's poetical association with Pope, Milton, Virgil, and Homer nevertheless alludes to *Morning Thoughts* as imitations of the works of these poets he greatly admired and by whom his poetry was substantially influenced. Poem and portrait indicate that, while reading Richardson's verses, we also read Pope, Milton, Virgil, and Homer.

Not only Richardson's self-portrait drawings as *poeta laureatus* are strongly associated with the artist's poetry, rather, his etched and painted self-portraits of the 1730s are also closely related to Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* (1776). Like the drawings, Richardson's etchings are executed freely and vigorously. As in the more finished self-portrait drawings, Richardson portrayed himself in different *personae dramatis* such as the gentleman-connoisseur in official attire, the amateur-artist, wearing a gown and a cloth hat, (fig. 111), and the Augustan philosopher with natural hair (fig. 87 and 88).

Some etched self-portraits are adorned with two-line verses, composed by the artist himself. "These Features must in Silent Darkness Rot./No Reason why my Heart should be forgot", reads the beholder of a variation of Richardson's self-portrait with bare head (fig. 87).[449] Another etched self-portrait representing the artist in conventional guise and wearing a wig is inscribed with the following: "Me as you find my Soul, Neglect or Love,/and show by Virtue, Virtue you approve" (fig. 112). Both are dated 1738. Richardson's etched self-portraits with verses date from a time when he was occupied with both poetry and portraiture as an artistic means to examine his self. Regarding poetry and painting as different agents to experiment with his self, a confluence of both media seems only to be consequent.

The combination of engraved or etched portraits with verses was not completely unknown in eighteenth century England. There are a number of examples of this type,

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[446] *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 7 and 20ff.
[447] See chapter VI.
[448] Piper 1982, 70.
[449] A version of this etched self-portrait is in the possession of the British Museum, London.

such as the engraved portraits of John Milton, which usually were printed together with John Dryden's famous lines beginning with, "Three Poets in three distant Ages born" as frontispiece (fig. 113). Yet it never became a genre *per se* as in the Netherlands and Germany during the sixxteenth and seventeenth centuries.[450] The sales catalogue listing Richardson's collection of prints and drawings shows that he was well acquainted with both the English tradition and the German and Dutch print culture combining engraved portraits of eminent persons, in particular of scholars and poets, with laudatory verses of poets.[451]

Although comparable in some aspects, Richardson's etched self-portraits distinguish themselves strongly from these authorised portrait engravings. Richardson certainly never produced the etched self-portraits with the intention to publish them. Rather, they were made as tokens of friendship for close relatives and friends. Richardson's poetical lines beneath his self-portraits, though versified and refined, are hardly comparable to the standardised laudatory verses of the Dutch and German prints. Correspondingly, Richardson's "flight etchings" [452] cannot be compared with these highly representative engraved portraits. Richardson's etching technique is rather reminiscent of Van Dyck's experimental approach in the etched portraits for the *Iconographiae*, such as in the 'Portrait of Jan Brueghel the Elder' (fig. 114), though less vigorous and imaginative.[453] The loose line work of Richardson's etched self-portraits tells us he preferred soft ground etching. Like van Dyck, Richardson used this technique as a means to design, an aspect he also addressed theoretically in *Two Discourses* (1719), where he described etching "if it be Design'd on the Plate" as a kind of drawing that is "purely, and properly Original."[454] Comparable to drawing, etching became an investigative technique of design. At the same time, Richardson used this amateur technique conventionally like the painted or engraved portraits as a means to preserve his person to posterity.

It was presumably Alexander Pope who inspired Richardson to combine poetry and painting in the way he did in his etched portraits. Poetry in association with monuments to posterity was an issue Pope was very passionate about.[455] Since the early 1720s Pope had paid much attention to the art of funerary monuments, particularly those of poets

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[450] See Hans Joachim Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnissen und Künstlerdarstellungen in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984, and John Roger Paas, *Effigies et Poesis. An Illustrated Catalogue of Printed Portraits with Laudatory Verses by German Baroque Poets*, Wiesbaden 1988.
[451] See Cock 1747, especially the Fifth and the Ninth Night's Sale.
[452] Strutt 1785-86, II, 487.
[453] See Ad Stijnman, 'On feather, candles and wet rags: the etching technique used by Van Dyck and his contemporaries', in: *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, ed. by Carl Depauw et al., Antwerpen 1999, 26-41.
[454] Richardson 1719, I, 194–6.
[455] See Brownell 1978, 334ff.

and artists in the Poet's Corner at Westminster Abbey. The erection of Dryden's monument in the Poet's Corner in 1720/1, in which Pope was obviously involved, reveals the poet's preference for short epigram-like English inscriptions rather than traditional Latin epitaphs.[456] The first plain inscription on Dryden's monument, "being only the name of the Great Poet", was later substituted for Pope's more flourishing epigrammatic couplet:

> This Sheffield rais'd. The sacred Dust below
> Was Dryden once: The rest who does not know.[457]

It seems to have become a habit among poets of the early eighteenth century to not only write epigram-like epitaphs for colleagues but to compose the inscriptions for their own funerary monuments, too. John Gay, for instance, instructed his friend, Alexander Pope, in a letter of 1729, "you will, if a Stone should mark the Place of my Grave, see these Words put on it:

> Life is a Jest, and all Things show it;
> I thought so once, but now I know it.[458]

Pope and Richardson apparently discussed not only the purpose and principle of epigram-like inscriptions theoretically; Pope indeed read and amended a number of Richardson's poetical lines as, for instance, a couplet beneath a portrait drawing of Pope as *poeta laureatus* (fig. 214) that originally reads.

> Your Friend but gives the Bay you had before,
> Friendship won't fain, but Friendship Can no more.

On the back of the drawing Richardson's son later noted "The Verses were my Father's, M^r^. Pope made the little alteration, perhaps they were better before." The "little alteration" concerns the word "but" in the second line, which Pope replaced by "ev'n." This example illustrates the meticulousness and attentiveness with which early eighteenth-century men of letters methodised language. Even if Richardson's verses might not be as witty as Pope's and Gay's epigrams, the contents of Richardson's verses are comparable to theirs. They have their origin in melancholic but mordant reflections on man's last and inevitable episode—death.

However, in some cases, Gay's and Pope's irony rubs off on Richardson, such as in the self-portrait as a gentleman-connoisseur, which is adorned with the couplet, "Me as you find my Soul, Neglect or Love/and show by Virtue, Virtue you approve." This composition certainly provokes astonishment in a modern beholder. The informality of the couplet seems to be utterly contradicted by the wig's masquerade. In this portrait

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[456] *Pope's Correspondence*, II, 51 ff.
[457] *Pope's Poems*, VI, 237.
[458] *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 20.

Richardson deliberately toys with the discrepancies between socially expected public appearance, as represented in the graphic delineation of his person and inner self as described in the poem.[459] Like the self-portrait drawings as a *poeta laureatus*, this portrait is one of the rare instances of Richardson displaying self irony.

Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* (1776) also contain a number of four-line poems "for pictures that I etched of myself", as he described these epigram-like rhymes.[460] These poems are meditations upon the emptiness Richardson's death would leave behind among his family and friends.

> This face no more shall glad the friendly eye;
> Let not the name in dust in active lie;
> Then shall thy mind be better'd by the sound,
> And both our urns with living odours crown'd.[461]

Richardson composed these poems without assigning them to an individual pictorial composition. With the additional comment, "To be put to my pictures", Richardson left it up to posterity, presumably his son, to combine portraits and poems after his death. Like many contemporaries, Richardson was particularly anxious to have his person preserved truly to future generations. Yet compared to contemporary colleagues such as Sir Godfrey Kneller, for instance, who was occupied with his public memorial until the last moment of his life,[462] Richardson etched his portraits primarily as a personal memorial for his family and a small circle of intimate friends. Like his etched self-portraits Richardson's poems were never composed for a public audience; it was only his son who made them public posthumously.

'Self-portrait as a Writer'

During the 1730s Richardson also painted a considerable number of self-portraits. In contrast to the artist's sequence of self-portrait drawings, these painted portraits appear to be rather conventional. Often, however, they were executed to rather traditional purposes; most of these portraits were painted as tokens of amity for acquaintances and patrons and as memorials for posterity. As such, they are indeed referred to by his son in an explanatory remark on Richardson's poem, 'Self-praise best praise', in *Morning Thoughts* (1776). "His pictures are", wrote Richardson Junior,

> a like monument of his own raising, and with the effect. How often have his old friends, when they have sat with me, on casting their eyes on his pictures, in my parlour and dining-room, said, 'That was an honest man! That was a wise Man!'

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[459] Pointon 1993, 107ff.
[460] Richardson 1776, 275f.
[461] Richardson 1776, 275.
[462] Spence 1966, I, 49.

> Your Father, Mr. Richardson, was the best company of any man I ever knew, and told story with the most humour and clearness, and always apropos.[463]

Richardson's portrait of his son seated in his study indeed shows that Richardson Junior decorated his parlour with his father's portrait during Richardson Senior's lifetime (fig. 115).

A closer look reveals Richardson was indeed a skilled face painter. Of course, his self-portraits do not reproduce Rembrandt's subtleties or Van Dyck's elegance, yet they are well painted compositions with a particular sensitivity to the modelling of the facial lineaments. An example of Richardson's fine technique of painting is his self-portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, painted in 1729 (fig. 116). This portrait illustrates Richardson's particular focus on facial features. There is no fancy dress or decorum in the background to distract the beholder from the subtly modelled face. Rather, the dark brown background and the black coat and headgear outline the artist's illuminated features.

Exceptional both in composition and technique is Richardson's 'Self-portrait as a Writer', most probably executed circa 1734 (fig. 117). Painted in unexpectedly coarse brushwork, this half-length portrait represents the artist sitting at a table or standing at a lectern in front of a landscape steeped in shadow. The background to the right indicates trees and plants while to the left a heavenly beam with the words 'What shall be, must' descends toward his head. He is wearing an artist's attire: a coat, a white shirt unbuttoned at the throat, and a black cloth hat. His right hand bears a quill resting on a book labelled 'solidity.' Richardson's observing eyes express a certain fatigue. In this portrait Richardson represents himself as a severe man tediously searching for genuine truth, a truth that consists in solidity of mind and the belief in human fate subject to divine power. Thus, the portrait refers in an astonishingly descriptive way to the philosophical question of free will, a question that preoccupied Jonathan Richardson throughout his life.[464] As early as 1711 Richardson poetically mused on the problem of free will in terms of divine predestination and human self-determination in *Hymn to God* (1711/12).[465]

Like many contemporaries who were in awe of enlightened ideas, Richardson was perplexed by the manifold interpretations of theological doctrines going along with the process of rationalising religion around 1700. Instigated by writings like John Locke's *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) or John Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696)

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[463] Richardson 1776, 304.
[464] For the philosophical concept of *free will* see Ron Featheringill, *The Tension between Divine Will and Human Free Will in Milton and the Classical Epic Tradition*, New York 1990.
[465] Richardson, *Hymn to God*, 1711/12, fol. 35f.

unchaining faith from the power of the Church and making it a matter of private judgment, an immense number of diverging theories of true religious thought progressed in company with a large number of religious sects.[466] In the shadow of this enlightening process, one of the main mysteries remained the question how God's will and mankind's intellectual capacity could be consistent with one another. Many 'enlightened' thinkers, including a large number of latitudinarians, believed that God's will is revealed in scripture and nature, and that it must be divined through use of reason. "Reason is natural revelation", emphasised John Locke, "whereby the eternal Father of light, and Fountain of all knowledge, communicates to mankind that portion of truth which he has laid within the reach of their natural faculties."[467]

Theoretically, every enlightened mind had to judge for itself how an appropriate religious life, leading to a blessed afterlife, had to be lived. Richardson, who was generally enthused by John Locke's epistemological ideas, must have been deeply disturbed by the possibility to be deceived by his natural faculties of understanding and to lead an inappropriate life. The anxiety that a mistaken faith led to misery and "torments endless" for "the wrath of God is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of Men"[468] was in fact very tangible in the early eighteenth century as books as Melmoth's *Great Importance of a Religious Life Consider'd* (1711) document vividly.

In this situation full of religious doubts, Richardson sought for comfort by corresponding with divines and theologians. According to his son's account his father "[...] was soon set at ease from his most dangerous scruple by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison), the Bishops of Ely, Exeter and other the most eminent divines, who all loved him and honoured him; of which I have now the proofs in their letters."[469] It was, according to Richardson Junior, in particular William Fleetwood (1656-1723), Bishop of Ely, who comforted Richardson in his fear "to be mistaken and to put up with an erroneous faith" and thereby make an enemy of God by simply replying that such a wrathful God "would be no God for me."[470]

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[466] John Locke, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, As delivered in the Scriptures*, London 1695 and John Toland, *Christianity not Mysterious: Or, A Treatise Shewing That there is nothing in the Gospel Contrary to Reason, Nor Above it: And that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a Mystery*, London 1696. For the influence of these writings see Porter 2000, 116ff, Yolton 1996, 167ff. and Frederick C. Beiser. *The Sovereignity of Reason. The Defense of Rationality in the Early English Enlightenment*, Princeton 1996, 220ff.

[467] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, IV, xix, 4.

[468] Melmoth 1711, 5f.

[469] Richardson 1776, 155.

[470] *Richardsoniana*, 333-335.

William Fleetwood, a gifted preacher, apparently reassured Richardson in his rational approach to religion by telling him that "where mystery began, religion ended."[471] Richardson eventually became convinced that God's wisdom and justice is supreme, and that he never would condemn a sincere man even if he might be occasionally mistaken within his search for truth. As a consequence, Richardson came to the conclusion that within this divine framework, everyone is authorised to form an individual opinion of what is true by referring to reason and introspection. He arrived at the view that anyone developed a particular idea of God, "as God hath made man after his own image, man may be said, in one sense, to make every one his particular God, after his own image."[472]

However, Richardson not only discussed these philosophical aspects with his theological friends but made it a subject of his 'Self-portrait as a Writer' as well as of his *Morning Thoughts* (1776). The poem 'Religion' constitutes the poetical pendant to Richardson's 'Self-portrait as a Writer.'

> Constant my mind, each day a different sky,
> A different landscape entertains my eye.
> A rosy, misty, frosty morning, now
> Receives my meditation, and my vow.
> Apollo comes, Diana just appears
> Venus is hid among the vulgar stars;
> My God, whom all the universe implores,
> And, though a various idol form'd, adores,
> Into my breast his saving knowledge pours.[473]

'Self-portrait as a Writer' and *Morning Thoughts* illustrate that like many empirically-minded thinkers of the early eighteenth century, Richardson believed in the reconcilability of human free will based on mankind's rational faculties and of a divine power that guides the fate of human beings. Richardson poetically summarised this philosophical intricacy in the poem 'What is truth?' written in October 1733 with the advice: "Behold the hand of God, explore your mind."[474]

On the whole, this chapter has illustrated that Richardson executed his self-portraits not simply for common purposes, such as tokens of friendship for acquaintances and patrons or memorials to posterity. Richardson's sequence of self-portraits originates from the artist's intense interest in the philosophical concept of personal identity and human understanding as it became fervently discussed by empirically minded scholars and philosophers of his times. In contrast to them, Richardson discussed not only the philosophical idea of the *self* theoretically rather he

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[471] *Richardsoniana*, 333f.
[472] *Richardsoniana*, 335.
[473] Richardson 1776, 81.
[474] Richardson 1776, 23.

made it an aesthetic matter of his self-portraits. It is, in particular, the sequential and informal nature of these works that shows Richardson used self-portraits as an aesthetic means to investigate the philosophical concept of the *self*. In so doing, Richardson created a unique sequence of self-portraits that distinguishes him not only as an original thinker but also as an extraordinary artist.

IV. 'The Complicated Richardson.' Richardson's portraits of Jonathan Richardson Jr.

As "two such lovers of one another, and two such lovers of the fine arts" were Jonathan Richardson and his son characterised by Alexander Pope, shortly after he had received their first co-authored publication, *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy* in 1722.[475] Richardson and his son showed an extraordinary affection for one another, an affection that is not only expressed in their collaborative writings, *An Account* (1722) and the *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734), but also in the painter's series of portraits of his son. Intriguing, however, is that Richardson drew almost as many portraits of his son as of himself.[476] Richardson Junior on his part preserved all of his father's portrait drawings whereas he sold the major part of his collection of old master drawings.[477] Even in the eyes of English society of the early eighteenth century, which virtually made friendship one of their highest ethical principles, the relationship between Richardson Senior and Junior was extraordinarily intimate.

'We make One Man'

One reaction to the devoted relationship of Jonathan Richardson and his son is illustrated in a caricature titled 'The Complicated Richardson'. The caricature shows Richardson Senior sitting at a table; pen poised above a manuscript titled "Notes" and, holding a telescope to his eye, peering through his son at a copy of Virgil's *Aeneid* (fig. 118). An anecdote told by Highmore's grandson says that Hogarth provoked "great laugh" with this sketch, which he could have created during a reading from the manuscript of *Explanatory Notes* (1734) by Richardson Senior at Slaughter's coffeehouse.[478] The attribution of the drawing to Hogarth is controversial; certain is that the engraving stems from a different hand.[479] The caricature ridicules the Richardsons' cooperation as they described themselves in *Explanatory Notes* (1734). Richardson wanted *Explanatory Notes* to be understood as an intellectual outcome of the "Complicated *Richardson.*"

> My Son is my Learning, as I am That to Him which He has Not; We make One Man; and Such a Compound Man (what Sort of One Soever He is whom We make) May Probably, produce what no Single Man Can. [...] When therefore I, in my Own

[475] *Pope's Correspondence*, II, 140f.
[476] The majority of Richardson's portrait drawings of his son, nine portraits, are in the British Museum. The Courtauld Art Galleries, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Cornell University Library, and the Montreal Museum of Art each possess several portrait drawings of Richardson Junior.
[477] See Cock 1747 and Langford 1772.
[478] See John F. Kerslake, 'The Richardsons and the Cult of Milton', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 99 (1957), 23.
[479] See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, New Haven 1965 (2 vols), I, 314f.

> Person talk of Things which in my Separate Capacity I am known to be a Stranger to, let Me be Understood as the Complicated *Richardson.*[480]

Richardson then metaphorically compared his son to a telescope who enables him access to Greek and Latin: "I then apply to my Telescope: In what depends on the Knowledge of the Learned Languages my Son is my Telescope."[481]

One imagines the painter Jonathan Richardson, a "formal man", as Horace Walpole described him, "with a slow but loud and sonorous voice, and, in truth, some affectation in his manner", celebrating his son as a telescope in earnest, who on top of all was very short-sighted.[482] Undoubtedly this scene had some comic effect and virtually invited satirical response from someone like William Hogarth, "whom a quibble could furnish with wit."[483]

However, Richardson seriously believed in his son's intellectual faculties and never got tired of emphasising his scholarly talents.[484] Richardson Junior's *savoir vivre* and urbanity is addressed in several of his portraits, such as in the portrait representing him as a grand tourist wearing some sort of Oriental turban (fig. 119). Not surprisingly, Richardson Senior's self-esteem and pride did not appeal to every contemporary. The art dealer, Andrew Hay, for instance, who had acquired a number of Italian drawings for Richardson, gave a less sympathetic portrayal of the two Richardsons.[485] Some time after 1715 Hay told Richardson "that Padre Orlando at Bologna was going to publish a short account of all the famous painters and sculptors that had been & living."[486] Richardson, according to the account, "was mighty desirous of Mr. Hay to engage him to print an account of him which he wrote & gave Hay when he went to Italy." Hay later told Vertue that Richardson's account "was such a long Epistle of his own perfections, His son's Qualifications, & his daughters & his collection, that he was asham'd to show it. But made a small account of himself w^h is what is printed in the Abecedario. & that of Richardsons writing he says he has lost."[487]

The account of Richardson that eventually was printed in Antonio P. Orlandi's *Abecedario Pittorico* (1719) in fact is a very concise description chiefly of the painter's art

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[480] Richardson 1734, cxli.
[481] Richardson 1734, cxli.
[482] Walpole 1786, IV, 34. See also Gibson-Wood 1988, 263f.
[483] Walpole 1786, IV, 36.
[484] See in particular the prefaces to their co-operated publications: *An Account* (1722) and *The Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734).
[485] See Gibson-Wood 2003, 155–171, esp. 156.
[486] *Vertue Note Books*, III, 13.
[487] *Vertue Note Books*, III, 13f.

theory works and collection without mentioning his son's talents.[488] Richardson's inappropriate parental pride and faith in his son's connoisseurial skills is also ridiculed in a parody titled "Observations on Three Essays on the Art of painting . . . wrote by Nahtanoi Nos-Drahcir [Jonathan Richardson] set in a true light."[489]

Compared to his father, there is little known about Jonathan Richardson Junior. He seemed to have been in the shadow of his father's sincere radiance throughout his life. Born in 1696 as Richardson's eldest son, he grew up in an educated middle-class environment. His father enabled him an excellent education, including knowledge of the classical languages. In 1716, at the age of twenty, Richardson Junior travelled to Holland and Flanders. Extracts from his *Memorandum Book Holland and Flander* tell us he visited collectors to enlarge his connoisseurial knowledge.[490] Four years later he set out on a grand tour to Italy, most certainly with regard to the publication of *An Account.*[491] Richardson apparently trained his son as a gentlemanly connoisseur, for there are no indications that he carried out a "serious" profession. Walpole mentioned that Richardson Junior also painted a little.[492] According to an article by the French collector Comte de Thibeaudeau in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* of 1859, Richardson particularly enjoyed reworking worn old master drawings in his father's and his own collection.[493] Richardson Junior also developed a particular interest in poetry. He indeed became one of the earliest textual critics and serious collators of Pope's poetical works.[494] Retrospectively, he himself explains:

> As for his *Essay on Man,* as I was witness to the whole conduct of it in writing, and actually have his original MSS. for it, from the first scratches of the four books, to the several finished copies, (of his own neat and elegant writing these last) all which, with the MS. of his *Essay on Criticism*, and several of his other works, he gave me himself, for the pains I took in collating the whole with its printed editions, at his request, on my having proposed to him the "making of an edition of his works in the manner of Boileau's".[495]

In a 1737 letter Alexander Pope alludes to sending Richardson Junior an edition of his works with wide margins, and in 1741 he was sending him manuscripts.[496] Richardson Junior was in possession not only of the manuscripts of *An Essay on Man* but also a

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488 See Pelegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Abecedario Pittorico*, Venice 1753 (2nd edition), 445.
489 Vertue, *Miscellaneous Notes*, 1722–1735, fol. 85-91.
490 Vertue, *Miscellaneous Notes*, 1722–1735, fol. 70ff. See Wimsatt 1965, 79.
491 Richardson 1722, preface, without pagination.
492 Walpole 1786, IV, 38.
493 See Colin Eisler, 'A New Rubens Cartoon', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964), 357.
494 David L. Vander Meulen, *Pope's Dunciad of 1728. A History and Facsimile,* Charlottesville 1991, 47–64.
495 *Richardsoniana*, 264.
496 *Pope's Corresponence,* IV, 78 and 374.

number of others, among them *Windsor Forest* and *An Epistle to Bathurst.*[497] Before he began to collate these manuscripts, he annotated Pope's *Dunciad* of 1728.[498] In the course of the collaborative work with his father on *Explanatory Notes,* Richardson Junior also compared and possibly collated the different editions of Milton's *Paradise Lost.*[499] After his father's death in 1745, Richardson Junior it seems, was primarily occupied with holding his father's name in honour. He inherited almost all his father's properties.[500] Certainly he sold his father's collection of old master drawings, but retained his drawings and paintings. Moreover, he enlarged his own collection of prints and drawings which, in contrast to his father's, was focused on English contemporary artists.[501] He kept contact with Richardson Senior's literary and connoisseurial friends such as Thomas Birch. Apparently, he never wanted to liberate himself from his father's legacy. Until his own death in 1771 he was occupied with further editions of his father's art theory writings. In 1754 he published a second edition of *An Account* and during the 1760s he began to prepare a 'corrected' edition of his father's *Works* for press including *An Essay on the Theory of Painting, Two Discourses,* and *An Account,* dedicated to Sir Joshua Reynolds. This edition appeared in 1773. Three years later publisher James Dodsley (1724–1797) issued Richardson Senior's poems as *Morning Thoughts* and his son's anecdotal miscellany *Richardsoniana.*[502] Richardson Junior apparently trusted Dodsley with his own and his father's unpublished works. It remains unclear whether Richardson Junior deliberately intended to publish these works posthumously.

The preface of *An Account* (1722), the first book the Richardsons co-authored, allows insight into their collaborative methods and gives hint of their confidential relationship. In order to authorise *An Account,* a guidebook to Italy's art treasures, a country Richardson Senior never visited, he referred to his son's grand tours as a justification for their book by way of introduction.

> I am well satisfy'd my Son when he was Abroad was not Unmindful of his Own particular Pleasure, and Improvement from the Sight of those Fine things he went to see; but I am no less persuaded that what he Principally intended in making, and noting down his Observations was to gratify Me; the Cream of which he gave me by

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[497] See *Pope's "Windsor Forest" 1712. A Study of the Washington University Holograph.* By Robert M Schmitz, Saint Louis 1952, 10-14; *Pope's "Epistle to Bathurst". A Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts [...]* By Earl Reeves Wassermann, Baltimore 1960, 60; *Alexander Pope "An Essay on Man". Reproductions of the Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Houghton Library with the printed text of the original edition [...]* by Maynard Mack, Oxford 1962, xxiv-xxv, xlviii-xlix.

[498] Vander Meulen 1991, 47-64.

[499] See Richardson 1734, cxxxviii-cxl.

[500] See Gibson-Wood 2000, 54.

[501] Langford 1772, 3ff.

[502] Both publications were planned as multivolume publications, of which each only the first volume appeared.

> Long and Frequent Letters. From Which, and from his Notes taken upon the Places, I (with his Assistance when he came home) collected what was for my Purpose.[503]

These introductory words give without further ado an idea of Richardson's and his son's responsibilities. Richardson Senior clearly was the architect of the project, his son the minute collector of historical notes, remarks, and observations. The "Cream" of Richardson Junior's writing, his "Long and Frequent Letters", are unfortunately lost, yet judging from the extracts of his memorandum books, which were recorded by George Vertue, the excellence of his writing is open to discussion.[504] The majority of Richardson Junior's notes consist in a concise enumeration of the artist's name and the picture's subject and technique. Sometimes he also noted his connoisseurial judgment. They largely correspond to the brief lists in *An Account* (1722) such as the list of drawings in the Academy of Painting in Milan.

Bern. Louvino.	Three Boys, fine, like *Lionardo*
Ditto.	A Head upon red Paper, same Taste.
Gir. Da Carpi	Several Figures after *Mich. Angelo*, exquisite.
Parmeggiano.	A Woman highly finish'd, neat Pen, red Ink
Perino.	A Figure, fine.
Raffaelle-Age.	Virgin in the Clouds and two Saints, Pen, Wash. Wh. Admirable.
Raffaele.	St. George, Bl. Ch.
Baccio.	Three Figures, fine.
Pordenone.	Fortune showing the way of *Hercules*; the same Design my Father has. [505]

Apparently both Richardson Senior's and Junior's observations and remarks were equally expanded into the publication. This makes it difficult to distinguish clearly between the observations of father and son. Definitely written by Richardson are the extensive discourses on Raphael's works in the Vatican as well as his essay *Of Painting and Sculpture*, which is unexpectedly situated between the sections on Florence and Rome.[506] In the preface Richardson Senior explains that "Those [articles] upon the Pictures of *Raffaele* in the *Vatican* which go by his [Richardson Junior's] Name are Intirely Mine."[507] His son's contributions chiefly consist of the concise lists of works of art and specifically in the succinct descriptions of statues and bas-reliefs, which he saw on the spot. Occasionally Richardson Junior went to exceptional length in his notes, paying attention to every stylistic minutiae as, for example, in the sculpture garden of the Villa Medici in Rome, where he studied in detail the statue of "*Cleopatra Dying*", today known as 'Ariadne' in the Archaeological Collection of the Villa Corsini in Castello (fig. 120).

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[503] Richardson 1722, preface, without pagination.
[504] See Vertue, *Miscellaneous Notes*, 1722-1735, fol. 70ff.
[505] Richardson 1722, 24f.
[506] Richardson 1722, 86-97.
[507] Richardson 1722, preface, without pagination.

> The Head is of the greatest *Greek* Taste, and can be compared to nothing but the *Alexander* dying in the Gallery of the Great Duke. The Expression is moving; she is most Evidently in great Agony, but without any manner of Grimace, or apparent Alteration in her Face, but that the Lid of one of her Eyes is more drawn over than the other, and her Chin seems to be drawn tight. I clamber'd up a piece of ancient Wall of *Rome* to get upon this Figure to consider the Features distinctly, as I had before those of the *Niobe* by the help of a like Expedient.[508]

Richardson Junior developed a fervent enthusiasm for the particularities of antique statues. This enthusiasm is, however, a hilarious touch, given his myopia that was not overlooked by contemporaries who ridiculed the young Richardson for his passion for trivia.[509] Yet it is evident from Richardson Junior's description of the statue of Cleopatra that his interest in sculpture is artistic and not antiquarian: He pays attention to the statue's proportion, expression, and its effect on the beholder. However ludicrous Richardson's observations are occasionally, they are, without doubt, inspiring, and appeal to the reader's imagination. His remarks are tinged with subjective sensations that he experienced throughout his encounters with statues, paintings, and drawings while he travelled abroad.

His father's observations appear to be more composed yet no less imaginative. Compared to his son's brief and cursory observations on works of art in Milan, Florence, Rome, and elsewhere, Richardson's reflections on Raphael's pictures in the Vatican are more comprehensive. Curiously however, they pretend to have been written by Richardson Junior who was on the spot, although they are the result of Richardson Senior's life-long occupation with Raphael.

> When I enter'd the Gates of *Rome* I found my self at the utmost of my Wishes, as to the Places I was to see in this World; the *Vatican* is That to *Rome*, which *Rome* is to all the Worlds besides. For Here are the Most, and the most Celebrated Works of *Raffaele*, the *Apollo* of Painting [...] Those Apartments call'd *Le Logie di Raffaele*, are a *Suite* of Four Rooms, Beginning with the Hall of *Constantine*, and Ending with that call'd the Chamber of the *Signature*. These have been describ'd by *Vasari*, *Filibien*, and others but especially by *Bellori*, who has been very Particular, and to my certain Knowledge very Exact, for I read him upon the Spot, and compar'd his Description with the Things themselves [...][510]

Richardson introduced the descriptions of Raphael's Vatican works as the result of both the study of books and on-the-spot observations. This made the descriptions more authentic and authoritative, and Richardson Senior evaded accusations to write on subjects he never studied himself. Nevertheless, Richardson took precautions against this in the preface, noting "that I should write upon what I never Saw, may appear strange to some." He then turned the tables and explained that his "remarks are Chiefly upon the

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[508] Richardson 1722, 126.
[509] Vertue, *Misellaneous Notes*, 1722–1735, fol. 85–91. See Gibson-Wood 2000, 214.
[510] Richardson 1722, 193.

way of Thinking; which is seen in a Print, or a Drawing, as well as in the Thing itself."[511] On the other hand, he deeply lamented he never had the opportunity of seeing first-hand the major works of continental art "O Rome! thou happy Repository of so many Stupendious Works of Art which my Longing Eyes have never seen, nor shall see."[512] The reasons he never travelled abroad remain obscure but, according to Gibson-Wood, it probably might have been Richardson's strong views on his economic independence that prevented him from interrupting his business life.[513] However, Richardson Senior must have realised that he, who largely deemed connoisseurship a matter of seeing, was on shaky foundations when he wrote about works of art he never saw. Therefore Richardson's son played an important role within the genesis of *An Account:* He was the one who proved his father's knowledge authentic on the spot. Thus, the Richardsons indeed made "One Man" and Richardson Junior virtually became his father's telescope throughout his travels abroad.

Methodically comparable to the work on *An Account* is the Richardsons' collaboration on *Explanatory Notes*, published in 1734. Richardson Senior designed the publication, and authored the Milton biography while his son worked more or less independently on the corpus of the explanatory notes. Even if Richardson was the spin doctor of the whole project, his son played an important role; he was knowledgeable in the learned languages. This knowledge was particularly important for a correct understanding of Milton's poetical language, which contained many Anglicised expressions of the ancient languages.[514] "Milton's Language", Richardson observed, "is English, but 'tis *Milton's* English; 'tis Latin, 'tis Greek English."[515] Richardson then honestly confessed he does not understand these learned languages, and it indeed "will seem Strange to Those who do Me the Honour to Entertain themselves with what I Offer them, when they find Me remarking on the Greek and Latin Writers, whose Languages I have Acknowledg'd my Self not to Understand."[516] Richardson Senior then explained in the most peculiar way that

> after All, I Have the Greek and Latin Tongues, I have them because a Part of Me Possesses them to Whom I can recur at Pleasure, just as I have a Hand when I

[511] Richardson 1722, preface, without pagination. For Richardson's methodological approach to Raphael's works see also Mora 1996, 86ff.
[512] Richardson 1715, 208.
[513] Gibson-Wood 2000, 209.
[514] See John K. Hale, *Milton's Languages. The Impact of Multilingualism on Style,* Cambridge 1997, esp. 105-130.
[515] Richardson 1734, cxlii.
[516] Richardson 1734, cxl-cxli.

> would Write or Paint, Feet to Walk, and Eyes to See. My son is my Learning, as I am that to Him which He has Not; We make One Man.[517]

Judging from this passage, Richardson father and son increasingly intensified their cooperation over the years. The two individual persons who worked on *An Account* became more and more a compound man, a "Complicated *Richardson*" in the course of writing *Explanatory Notes*. Naturally, collaborative writing was a widespread genre in the early eighteenth century.[518] There exists a significant number of jointly written works, often composed as testimonies of friendship, such as Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies,* which appeared in 1727.[519] In a letter to Swift, Pope emphasised how the *Miscellanies,* containing works of both poets, would represent their intimacy:

> Our Miscellany is now quite printed. I am prodigiously pleas'd with this joint volume, in which methinks we look like friends, side by side, serious and merry by turns, conversing interchangeably, and walking down hand in hand to posterity; not in the stiff forms of learned Authors, flattering each other, and setting the rest of mankind at nought: but in a free, un-important, natural, easy manner; diverting others just as we diverted ourselves.[520]

While Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* was obviously the work of several hands, there are a number of literary pieces and writings where it is impossible to decipher the precise authorship as in the Richardsons' co-authored books. Like the *Scriblerian* pieces, Pope's *Dunciad* also was written by distinct hands.[521] These collaborative writings are inextricably related to the authors' debates and conversations.[522] As for these authors, it was also an essential part of the Richardsons' preparatory works for their publications to discourse on Milton's poetry.

> To Explain and Remark upon the Poem we have presum'd to Undertake, requires an Extent and Variety of Qualifications Rarely to be found in Any One Man [...]I have Often Thought, I Always Think it my (perhaps) Peculiar Happiness to be as it were Enlarg'd, Expanded, made Another Man by the Acquisition of My Son [...] Whatever Our Several and United Abilities are, We have Exerted them to the Utmost [...] But we have taken Nothing Implicitly which we were capable of Examining Our Selves; we have done so in the Same manner as if it had been Suggested from Within; or by Me to my Son, or by my Son to Me. And have Altred, or Not as our Own Joynt Reason Dictated, from Arguments our Own Conceptions furnish'd Us with.[523]

With regard to *Explanatory Notes,* the Richardsons also conversed with friends and books. Most importantly they read passages of Milton's poetry on their own before

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[517] Richardson 1734, cxli.

[518] See Moyra Haslett, *Pope to Burney, 1714–1779. Scriblerians to Bluestockings*, Basingstoke 2003, 13ff.

[519] Alexander Pope et al., *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse,* London 1727. See also Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse by Pope, Gay and Swift,* ed. by Alexander Pettit, London 2002 (4 vols), I, xi ff.

[520] *Pope's Correspondence,* II, 426.

[521] See Haslett 2003, 14.

[522] See Haslett 2003, 31ff.

[523] Richardson 1734, clxviii–clxix.

comparing their thoughts and interpretations. Referring to this methodological approach Richardson wrote his friend Ralph Palmer in a letter of 13 March 1732, "My Son is upon ye Same Design. Wee work separately, & when wee have done shall conferr Notes, & blend them together w^{ch} wee hope will set That Noble Poem in a Clearer Light than it has Yet been Seen in."[524] Thus, they indeed produced something "no single man can". However, this kind of conversational collaboration led not only to the publication of their co-authored books; it also became the creative scope for Richardson's series of portrait drawings of his son.

'Richardson Junr by Richardson Senr'

There are more than thirty drawn, etched, and painted portraits of Richardson Junior known today. The majority are portrait drawings executed during the 1730s. Like Richardson's self-portraits, the drawn portraits of his son show a diversity of technique. Next to the large chalk drawings (fig. 121–125) are some small pencil sketches and pen studies (fig. 126–130) as well as a considerable number of plumbago drawings (fig. 131 and 132). Like Richardson's self-portraits most of the portrait drawings of his son are dated. The last dated portrait dates from 3. August 1743: This plumbago drawing represents Jonathan Richardson Junior in a formal guise, wearing a wig and a cap (fig. 133).

Akin to Richardson's self-portraits the majority of portrait drawings of his son are focused on the head and the facial expression. Yet compared to Richardson's sequence of self-portraits where the process of seeing itself became a matter of the process of drawing, the portraits of his son appear to be the result of a more distant observation. Often Richardson Junior is portrayed while turning his head slightly to one side and gazing lost in thought (fig. 125 and 125). His look is less observant and discriminating as his father's in the self-portraits. Distance is also caused by the poses Richardson Junior adopted in the pictures. Richardson portrayed his son several times in the classical pose of philosophical thinker. The Courtauld Institute Galleries and the British Museum each possess a portrait of Richardson Junior in which he deliberately seems to take up the classical pose of the thinker; he is resting his forehead in his right hand, lost in thought (fig. 128 and 131). Less composed appears Richardson Junior in a small pencil sketch in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 129) In this study, dated 8 June 1737, he is resting his chin on his right hand and looks at the beholder. The portrait is entirely focused on the facial features. This drawing preserves an undisguised moment of Richardson Junior's

[524] Richardson, *Letter to Palmer*, 13 March 1732, fol. 1–2.

mental effort. In sum, these pictorial compositions are descriptive variations upon the process of reasoning from the outside.

More complex in composition is a portrait drawing of Richardson Junior, also executed in lead on vellum, where he presents a letter, a manuscript, or a note to the beholder (fig. 135). He is portrayed in the role of a philological scholar in his study, wearing a gown and a cloth hat. It would appear that this portrait has its origin in the Richardsons' work on one of their co-authored publications. Perhaps Richardson Junior refers to an observation he has made during his travels abroad, or points to an idea concerning the interpretation of Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

It is, however, also possible that Richardson Junior presents a Pope manuscript. Some time after the publication of *An Essay on Man* in 1733, Richardson Junior began to collate Pope's manuscripts with the printed editions on the poet's request in order to realise "an edition of his works in the manner of Boileau's."[525] Pope had in mind Nicolas Boileau's (1636–1711) last revised and amended edition of his works, *l'Œuvres Diverses,* published in Paris in 1701, which is known as the poet's 'favourite' edition. ""Tis the correctest of any ye Published", Boileau is translated in the English edition of 1712, "and I have not only revis'd it with a great deal of Care, but have given it some new Touches in many Places. For I am not of those lazy Authors, who think, when they have once publish'd their Writings, they are no longer oblig'd to make any Amendments."[526] To a similar end Pope engaged young Jonathan Richardson to collate his manuscripts with the published works.[527]

No matter whether the portrait represents Richardson Junior while collaborating with his father or occupied with collating Pope's manuscripts, in either case the portrait conveys the discursive nature of Richardson's intellectual mind work. The drawing does not simply visualise Richardson Junior's discourse with the piece of writing in his hand. During the process of portraying itself Richardson Junior and his father also entered a dialectic structure.

Akin to many contemporaries, Richardson understood the dialogue as a way of moral and philosophical thinking.[528] It has been shown that literary, philosophical, and religious dialogues played an important role in early eighteenth century England.[529]

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[525] *Richardsoniana*, 264.
[526] Nicolas Boileau, *The Works of Monsieur Boileau*, London 1712 (3 vols), I, vi.
[527] *Richardsoniana*, 264.
[528] See Michael Prince, *Philosophical Dialogue in the British Enlightenment. Theology, Aesthetics, and the Novel,* Cambridge 1996, 14.
[529] Prince 1996, 47ff and Eugene Purpus, "The Plain, Easy and Familiar Way': The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660–1725', in: *English Literary History* 17 (1950), 47–58.

Dialogue is a means to arrive at knowledge by analysing, breaking wholes down into disparate parts, and recovering their coherence through the use of reason.[530] Discoursing and painting are closely brought together in Shaftesbury's treatise *The Moralists,* a philosophical dialogue between Philocles and Palemon.[531] In view of casual and flattering conversations, Philocles regrets the decline of the true philosophical dialogue. "We need not wonder", he said in his conversation with Palemon; that "the sort of moral painting, by way of dialogue, is so much out of fashion and that we see no more of these philosophical portraitures nowadays."[532]

In a way, Richardson's portrait of his son could be considered as the pictorial manifestation of Shaftesbury's allegorical picture of moral dialogue as philosophical portrait. Richardson's portrait visualises the private philosophical occupation with aesthetic themes "by way of dialogue." Yet in making this philosophical dialogue subject of the portrait, it at the same time becomes a matter of casual conversation. Richardson's portrait of his son as a scholar delineates the portrait as a medium that marks the transition between private and public dialogue. This aspect made the portrait such a significant means of communication within early eighteenth-century society.

The exchange of ideas on art and literature is also made subject in Richardson's painted portrait of his son in his study (fig. 115). Richardson Junior is shown seated in his study wearing an elegant dressing gown and a cloth hat. He is holding a large volume, a book written in Greek, in his hands. His right arm is resting on a small table loaded with scattered books, among them the works of Virgil, writing materials, and a small cast of the Farnese Hermes. In front of the table, on the floor, is seen a bust of Homer. Behind Richardson a dark curtain is partly drawn back and allows the beholder to look at either Richardson's or his father's collected volumes of drawings. To the right side of these uniform shelves, portraits of his parents, painted by Richardson Senior, hang on the wall. His father is represented in formal guise and wig; his mother is portrayed with a halo. The wall above the chimney corner is decorated with old master paintings, which are difficult to identify. Beneath the topmost painting, which represents a large landscape, a rectangular frame is attached to the wall; it contains two small drawn or engraved portraits.

Several dialectic structures are interconnected in this portrait. Richardson Junior is sitting in his study discoursing with drawings, paintings, statues, and books. The small

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[530] Prince 1996, 14.
[531] See Prince 1996, 47ff.
[532] Shaftesbury 1999, 234.

cast of the Farnese Hermes on the table attracts attention. It most likely alludes to Richardson Junior's enthusiasm for the sculptures in the Farnese palace, as described in *An Account.*[533] Apart from that, Hermes was considered to be a symbol of eloquence in the eighteenth century.[534] In this context the statue also refers to Richardson's occupation with works of art and literature as a matter of communication. This also includes the difficulty of ekphraistic description, an aspect that occupied the Richardsons throughout their collaboration on *An Account.*

At the same time Richardson enters a dialogue with the beholder, or with his father, while he is being painted. Moreover, Richardson's self-portrait and his wife's portrait in the background create the impression of a fictive conversation with their son. These two painted portraits illustrate Richardson Senior's theoretical concept of the portrait's effect in rooms.[535] As pictorial icons of persons they indeed seem to participate in the dialogue between Richardson and his son. It is exactly this conversational effect of the portrait that is described by Richardson Junior when he refers to his father's pictures in the parlour while talking to friends.[536]

A pictorial variation on this theme is Richardson's double portrait drawing of his son and himself (fig. 136). For this relatively large crayon drawing Richardson adopted Raphael's self-portrait and the portrait of his companion in the 'School of Athens' as model (fig. 137). Proportions and attitudes of the heads are almost identical, and the masses of light and shade are similarly distributed. While Richardson Junior is in the place of Raphael, Richardson Senior takes the place of Raphael's companion, identified as Raphael's master, Pietro Perugino (1448–1523), in the eighteenth century. Richardson Senior's attention is drawn by something outside the picture frame, as if he intensely considers something or is engaged in a scholarly discourse similar to Raphael's companion. In contrast Richardson Junior looks at the beholder. A considerable number of eighteenth century engravings after the 'School of Athens' reproduce exactly this detail of Raphael's picture that Richardson had chosen for the double portrait of the artist and his son.[537]

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[533] Richardson 1722, 129ff.
[534] See Chambers 1728, entry "Hermes."
[535] Richardson 1715, 9f.
[536] Richardson 1776, 304.
[537] See, for example, an engraving by F. Jordan in: *The Works of Raphael Santi da Urbino as Represented in the Raphael Collection in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle*, London 1876, 5–6, Portfolio I. The identification of Raphael's companion is today still controversial. According to Woods-Marsden the figure must be perceived neither as Sodoma or Perugino, but as Pinturicchio because of the facial likeness with Pinturicchio's self-portrait ten years earlier in Spello. See Woods-Marsden 1999, 122.

Richardson presumably drew the double portrait in the late 1720s, referring to *An Account,* his first collaborative writing with his son. The discourse on Raphael's works, in particular the Vatican frescoes, takes up a lot of space in their guidebook on "the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy." With great enthusiasm Richardson Senior describes Rome as "*Rafaelle's* Painting-Room: here he Began [...] and Here he was employ'd at the time of his Death."[538] In detail the Richardsons' then describe the way to the "Logie di Rafaele" in which "the Paintings call'd Raffaele's Bible" are to be seen. Like Italian art theorist, Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), Richardson attached great importance to describing the represented historical persons, and noticed with regard to the 'School of Athens' that "Raffaele was the best qualified of any Man in the World for this Work, so far as it was giving the Portraits, (or what were to be consider'd as such) of an Assembly of men who have done the Greatest Honour to our Species as Rational Beings."[539] Thus, Richardson summarises Bellori's antiquated description of the fresco as the "Gymnasium of Athens [...] where, apart from exercising the forces of the body, the soul was cultivated as well through the disciplines of study, as philosophers and masters of knowledge came together to debate and to teach."[540] Richardson refrained from a precise description of the individual persons, yet he emphasised the historical character of the portraits:

> and where Assistance could be had from Medals, Intagliaes, Statues, or Busts, there Raffaele has given us the Resemblances of the Persons; for the rest he has Imagin'd them, or put the Faces of Other Persons then living, as of his Friend and Patron *Bramante* for *Archimedes*, of the Dukes of *Urbin*, and Mantua for Scholars; at least so 'tis said, he has brought Himself in as one of the Latter sort, and amongst the Mathematicians, and very Modestly in the very Extremity of the Picture.[541]

The double self-portrait drawing of Richardson and his son illustrates how deeply Richardson Senior was affected by Raphael's portraiture. In taking Raphael's self-portrait and the portrait of Pietro Perugino as a model, the double portrait addresses in a sophisticated way the Richardsons world of ideas. It might be curious at first glance that Richardson the painter depicted himself in the role of Perugino, the master of Raphael, and not in the role of the "Apollo of Painting" itself. However, Richardson was a sensible pragmatist and realised that his art of portraiture cannot be compared with Raphael's painting. By imitating the detail of the 'School of Athens' Richardson did not intend to

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[538] Richardson 1722, 193.
[539] Richardson 1722, 210.
[540] See Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *The Image of the Ancient Gymnasium of Athens, or, Philosophy,* translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl from Bellori's *Descrizzione delle quattro immagini dipinte da Raffaelle d'Urbino nella Camera Segnatura nel Palazzo Vaticano, e nella Farnesina alla Lungara, con alcuni ragionamenti in onore delle sue oper, e della pittura e scultura,* Rom 1751, 29–47, in: *Raphael's 'School of Athens,* ed. By Marcia Hall, Cambridge 1997, 49.
[541] Richardson 1722, 209f.

suggest that he or his son, who also painted a little, succeeded Raphael's mastery. In his theoretical writing Richardson clearly reserved this repute for a future generation of English painters.[542] Rather, the double portrait of himself and his son refers to their intellectual ideals.

Above all, Richardson was particularly fascinated by the humanist aspect of Raphael's painting. By comparison with Raphael's 'Dispute of the Sacrament' Richardson observed that 'The School of Athens' is "indeed a very Magnificent one; but this Magnificence is purely Humane."[543] Raphael transformed the traditionally static and isolated depiction of the *Uomini Famosi* into "a series of dramatic events in which the actors are presented in dialogue with one another."[544] He represented a "meeting of the minds in its most complete realisation" as Brilliant observed.[545] It is particularly this human aspect of Raphael's picture, the dialogue among empirically minded scholars, which fascinated Richardson and which he took up for the portrait of his son and himself.

As in their collaborative writing, where Richardson clearly was the architect, he represented himself as the aged master in the role of Perugino, whereas his son is portrayed as the young gifted student. The two Richardsons discoursed and conversed on literary, philosophical, and scientific issues, comparable to the intellectual representatives in Raphael's 'School of Athens.' Equivalent to Raphael and his companion, who are represented among the followers of Aristotle (384–322 BC) who were dedicated to the philosophy of empiricism, Richardson and his son were in awe of empirical thought.[546] The bas-relief above Raphael and his companion, beneath the statue of Minerva, shows an allegory of *Science.* A putto holds beside her a panel with the words *'Causarum Cognitio'*, the central motto of the epistemological sciences that strongly appealed to Richardson's way of thinking.

Another aspect that most certainly fascinated Richardson is Raphael's displayed interest in cosmological matters. Raphael represents himself among a group of people surrounding Archimedes in conversation with Zoroaster and Ptolemy, "the exemplars of astrology and geography, who display their spheres of the terrestrial and celestial worlds

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[542] Richardson 1719, II, 51.
[543] Richardson 1722, 209.
[544] See in particular Hall (ed.) 1997, 9 and Konrad Oberhuber, *Polarität und Synthese in Raphael's "Schule von Athen"*, Stuttgart 1983, 56ff.
[545] Richard Brilliant, 'Intellectual Giants: a classical topos and *The School of Athens*', in: *Source*, 3 (1984), 1-12, esp. 7.
[546] Woods-Marsden 1999, 112f.

for the artist's benefit."[547] Comparably, Richardson had a sincere interest in the planetary system and its religious implications, as illustrated in his poetical works, particularly in *Hymn to God* (1711/12).[548] Deliberately, Richardson used the detail of Raphael's 'School of Athens' as an intellectual pattern for his portrait of his son and himself in order to transport their way of thinking. Even if the self-portrait is reduced to the representation of Richardson's and his son's head, it unfolds a plethora of meaning: Richardson and his son are represented as empirical thinkers who, in the course of discoursing matters, endeavour to arrive at universal truth; at the same time they represent themselves as true and sophisticated connoisseurs of Raphael's art of painting. The portrait is an homage both to Raphael's art and to the Richardsons' intellectual world of ideas.

In sum Richardson's sequence of portraits of his son illustrates the external appearance of a reasoning mind, a mind Richardson became increasingly familiar with during their collaborative works. Similar to Richardson's self-portraits, the portraits of his son are pictorial variations on the dialectics of perceiving and knowing, but more descriptive.[549] The alternating process of perceiving and drawing being crucial to Richardson's self-portraits is subordinate to a more illustrative depiction of the Richardsons' intellectual world of ideas. Richardson's portraits of his son originate from the philosophical dialogue between two empirically minded thinkers. At the same time they are pictorial proof an extraordinary paternal affection.

'Latter Life. To my Son. Ode.'

Among Richardson's sequence of portraits of his son there are a number of portrait drawings representing Richardson Junior as a child (fig. 138 and 139). A plumbago drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum is inscribed in Richardson Senior's hand, "Painted abt the year 1698 R/5 May 1735." As with the self-portraits, Richardson obviously also copied the portraits of his children in some sort of pictorial review during the last decade of his life. This aspect is particularly interesting in context to Richardson's *Morning Thoughts,* picking out moral retrospection as a central theme, some of which he dedicated to his eldest son, Jonathan Richardson.[550]

"My son, I leave these verse with thee/I pour their blessing on thy head", muses Richardson in the poem 'Latter Life. To my Son. Ode', composed in April 1736.[551]

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[547] Woods-Marsden, 1999, 123.
[548] See chapter II.
[549] See Prince 1996, 251ff.
[550] Richardson 1776, 152-7.
[551] Richardson 1776, 155.

Reviewing his own life with respect to God's providential design, Richardson bequeathed these poems to his son as a spiritual guide. "Not hopeless that my praise may stimulate/May others teach to live like me, and sing", ponders Richardson in the poem 'Matter of Praise. To my Son.'[552] Thus, these poems succeed Richardson's earliest written piece of poetry, *Hymn to God* of 1711 which he dedicated to his children in order "to enrich your minds."[553]

Like many of his contemporaries Richardson believed a child's character was shaped largely by education of its intellectual capacities. The concept of the malleability of a child's character was particularly spread by John Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education,* first issued in 1693.[554] Locke was convinced that a child's education consists in the cultivation of the capacity of reasoning rather than in an accumulation of facts. "[T]o set the *Mind* right, that on all Occasions it may be disposed to do nothing, but what may be suitable to the Dignity and Excellency of a rational Creature"[555], is the main principle of education according to Locke. To this end parents have to implant a true idea of virtue in their children. Virtue, Locke maintained, is "the first and most necessary of those Endowments that belong to a Man or a Gentleman; as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself; without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this nor the other World."[556] Locke then explained that the foundation of virtue largely consists in a proper idea of God. Early in their lives children should receive a true notion "of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us, and gives us all things."[557]

The popularity of this educational concept is revealed in Budgell's series in the *Spectator* of 1712. Eustace Budgell (1686–1737) concluded that virtue is the most important aspect of a child's education because it enables him to live happily both in society and solitude.[558] Bishop William Fleetwood, who gave Richardson support during his years of religious doubts, also had these educational precepts in mind when he wrote his sermons, *Duty of Parents to Children* (1705).[559] In these sermons Fleetwood urged parents to bring their children up "in the Christian Religion, to teach them their Duty, to

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[552] Richardson 1776, 157.
[553] Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fol. 2r.
[554] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education,* London 1693. Subsequently I will refer to John W. and Jean S. Yolton's edition of Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education,* Oxford 1989. See furthermore Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'John Locke's Images of Childhood', in: Ashcraft (ed.) 1991, II, 232.
[555] Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education,* ch. 40, para. 31.
[556] Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education,* ch. 241, para. 135.
[557] Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education,* ch. 241, para. 136.
[558] *Spectator* No. 337. See Ezell 1991, 233.
[559] William Fleetwood, *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants, Consider'd in Sixteen Sermons,* London 1705.

learn them what they are to Believe and what to Practice, to instruct them in the knowledge of God, and Jesus Christ [...]."[560] Fleetwood figuratively compared children's devotion to their father with their father's devotion to God, the almighty Father: "and to shew us, how it is, to comply with and obey our Parents, God calls himself throughout the Holy Scriptures our *Father*, and from that Title and Relation calls for our obedience."[561]

Following these popular didactic principles Richardson thought it important to convey to his children a true notion of virtue implementing a proper idea of God. Richardson preferred poetry as a means of communicating moral values to his children. He considered poetry to be a better educational means than prose for three reasons: First, poetry's capacity of communicating the flow of his thoughts. "The truth is", Richardson admits, "new thoughts allow me neither leisure nor inclination to polish the circumstances of their predecessors."[562] Second, Richardson explains, poetry "gives a compass, and elevation, and variety, a greatness and grace, which prose fits down satisfied without." Third, poetry "strikes deeper into the mind, and is better rooted in the memory."[563]

For these reasons Richardson preferred verses as a means to convey his moral reflections on God's Creation to his children. "I was willing to write down some such Thoughts as these", he explained in the epistolary introduction of *Hymn to God*, "& I believ'd they would be more agreable in Verse, tho incorrect, than in Prose."[564] It is obvious from these explanations that Richardson wrote his poems not simply with the idea to educate his children but to let them participate in his way of thinking as well as his emotional response to God's sublime Creation.

Also like many of his contemporaries Richardson was awed by the magnificent nature of God. At the same time he was also fully aware that, strictly speaking, God's infinite magnitude is incomprehensible to humans. This divine infinity, maintained John Locke in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), can only be conceived by man through reflecting on the mind's ability to repeat single ideas endlessly.[565] Addison transferred Locke's rather abstract theory of the perception of God's infinity into a more pragmatic approach:

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[560] Fleetwood 1705, 104.
[561] Fleetwood 1705, 27ff. "First Discourse on the Duty of Children to Parents".
[562] Richardson 1776, 3f.
[563] Richardson 1776, 2. Pope similarly addressed these aspects in the introduction to *An Essay on Man* (1733). See *Pope's Poems*, III.1, 7f.
[564] Richardson, *Hymn to God*, 1711/12, fol. 2v.
[565] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, xvii.

> If we examine the *Idea* we have of the incomprehensible supreme Being, we shall find, that [...] the complex Ideas we have both of God, and separate spirits, are made up of the simple Ideas we receive from Reflection; v. g. having from what we experiment in our selves, got the Ideas of Existence and Duration; of Knowledge and Power; of Pleasure and Happiness; and of several other Qualities and Power, which it is better to have, than to be without: When we would frame an Idea the most suitable we can to the supreme Being, we enlarge every one of these with our Idea of Infinity; and so putting them together, make our complex Idea of God.[566]

Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* implement this philosophical concept aesthetically.[567] In endlessly reviewing his own ideas, experiences, and sentiments, Richardson endeavoured to grasp and describe the nature of God's infinite magnitude poetically. Richardson's poetic meditations are attempts to understand the infinite nature of God's creation through reflecting on his self. Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* originate from the same motives inspiring the artist to execute the sequences of self-portraits, and also the series of portrait of his children and his friends. In both, the process of composing is inextricably correlated to the artist's capacity of reasoning and self reflecting.[568]

In analogy to the sketchiness of the portrait drawings, Richardson's poetic meditations are written in a loose style. As he considered portrait sketches as an aesthetic medium "to beautify the intellectual face", he deemed lofty poetry the best means to grasp the "complex idea of God." Richardson realised furthermore that the magnificence of God's creation went beyond the evidence of immediate experience; therefore it required a more elevated language than prose.[569] Richardson did not write poetry to present clear moral-philosophical paradigms to his children but to display the emotional effect of God's magnificence on his mind. "Blest be that God, by whom the Muse is taught/To paint the beauties, and describe the mind!" muses Richardson in the poem 'Sun Rising', an encomium on God's infinite magnitude.[570]

These verses also visualise what Richardson sensed was an immediate correlation between the sublime of God's creation, human devotion, and the pleasures of imagination. "Faith and Devotion", writes Addison in his essays on devotion, "naturally grow in the mind of every reasonable man, who sees the Impressions of Divine Power and Wisdom in every Object on which he casts his Eye."[571] It is exactly this process of the mind that Richardson wanted to visualise when he poetically mused on the beauties

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[566] *Spectator*, No. 531.
[567] See David B. Morris, *The Religious Sublime. Christian Poetry and Critical Tradition in 18th Century England*, Lexington 1972, 123ff.
[568] See chapter II.
[569] See Harry M. Solomon, 'Reading Philosophical Poetry: A Hermeneutics of Metaphor for Pope's *Essay on Man*', in: *The Philosopher as Writer*, ed. by Robert Ginsberg, Selinsgrove 1987, 122-139, esp. 125. See Morris 1972, 112.
[570] Richardson 1776, 8.
[571] *Spectator*, No. 465.

of the landscape as the sublime result of divine power, such as in 'Advantage of Devotion', the poem he composed in August 1734 while "sitting on a stile between Cheam and Sutton."

'Tis pleasant all! The open hills, or glade,
The corny field, or field for fallow laid,
The grassy freshness, or the various green
Of boughs, the sky and orient beams between;
Blue mists, or azure haven, or glaring sun,
Proclaiming loud the harvest-day begun.
The distant prospect, or the eye confin'd,
The bosom'd sacred spire, the village kind;
Autumnal fruit and flowers, domestic brood,
The rock, the dove, or notes that chear the wood,
The breezy whispers, and the fanning air,
The cloud that skreens me from the scorching glare.
Delicious all! But whence? If guilt, or shame,
Grief, perturbation, doubt, fear passions flame,
Reside, within; all glooms the bright'ning sky,
And darkness hides each lovely object nigh.
But innocent, or purify'd the hand,
The passions cool, or subject to command,
The soul possess'd with thoughts of God sublime,
Seeing, adoring, praising, loving him,
'This given beauty, this delight bestows,
And, in a wilderness, and Eden shows;
A joy, which unexperience never knows!
Still, all to him most beautiful will prove,
Whose eye is taught to see, whose muse to love.[572]

By means of his poetry Richardson enabled children to participate in his devotional seeing and thinking. "My proud ambition is, by honest art", Richardson writes in the poem 'My Day Begun. To my Son', "To win more truth, to purify my heart."[573] He wrote his poems in order to sensitise his children to the magnificence of a sublime God's design, climaxing in the creation of man. "It is of the last importance", Addison explained in his *Spectator* essay on devotion, "to season the passions of a child with devotion, which seldom dies in a mind that has received an early tincture of it."[574] It was this early tincture of devotion that Richardson endeavoured to give his children by means of his poetical meditations.

Correspondently, Richardson also wanted his children to become aware of the inescapable dialectics of reason and feeling. From his theoretical writings we know Richardson deemed empirical reasoning the quintessential capacity of human beings.[575]

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[572] Richardson 1776, 68f.
[573] Richardson 1776, 153.
[574] *Spectator*, No. 201.
[575] Richardson, 1719, II, 12.

At the same time Richardson was fully aware of the unsteadiness of the human mind as shown in his poems and portraits. In *Hymn to God* (1711/12) he mused, for instance,

> Reason sometime presiding, Passion oft.
> The Process influencing more, or less,
> As either of them the Ascendant gains
> On the Inconstant, Weak & Passive Mind.
> Whilst Passion reigns if Reason interpose
> Shee comes uncall'd for Passion calls her not [...][576]

Richardson was fully aware that true devotion is impossible without some degree of passion. "A state of temperance, sobriety, and justice, without devotion", Addison observed in his essay on devotion, "is a cold lifeless, insipid condition of virtue; and is rather to be styled philosophy than religion."[577] Like Addison, Richardson believed that divine poetry is not allowed to be too enthusiastic or superstitious.[578] Religious thought therefore required a certain amount of passion, yet moderated and controlled by reason. "Beware lest Reason, nodding Passion wakes", maintains Richardson in *Hymn to God*.[579] It is a "strong, steady, masculine piety" that Richardson endeavoured to communicate to his children.[580]

While educating his children's intellectual capacity, Richardson conceived his poetic meditations as a means to memorise his own thoughts poetically. This mnemonic aspect again closely associates the poetical meditations to Richardson's portrait drawings in which the creative process of drawing is inextricably correlated with the process of recollecting memories.[581] Apparently, Richardson Junior appreciated his father's philosophical undertakings and, being responsible minded, preserved his father's poetical and pictorial legacy. Eventually, he made it accessible to a wider public through the posthumous edition of *Morning Thoughts* and of *Richardsoniana* in 1776.

'Richardsoniana'

In 1776, the same year Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* appeared, bookseller James Dodsley published the first volume of Richardson Junior's *Richardsoniana. Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man.* On the frontispiece of this publication is an etched portrait of Richardson Junior by his father, done in about 1738 (fig. 140). As in the painted portrait (fig. 119), Richardson Junior is represented wearing some sort of Oriental headgear.

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[576] Richardson, *Hymn to God*, 1711/12, fol. 20r.
[577] *Spectator*, No. 201.
[578] See *The Spectator*, No. 201. "The two great errors into which a mistaken devotion may betray us, are enthusiasm and superstition."
[579] Richardson, *Hymn to God*, 1711/12, fol. 33v.
[580] See Addison in *The Spectator*, No. 201.
[581] For the mnemonic aspect of Richardson's portrait drawings see also chapter II.

Apparently, he had developed a particular interest in Eastern literature and art during his lifetime. In the preface of *Richardsoniana* he compares his miscellany of moralising anecdotes to an Arabian collection of stories titled *Rabi Alabrar.*[582] *Richardsoniana* as the name suggests, is largely written in the spirit of Jonathan Richardson Senior. It is composed, however, by his most fervent admirer, his eldest son Jonathan. *Richardsoniana* takes up a large number of aesthetic ideas and moral observations Richardson Senior made throughout his lifetime. It is therefore not surprising that one of his favourite books, Montaigne's *Essais,* first issued in 1580, provided the motto of *Richardsoniana.*[583]

> How many stories have I scattered up and down in this book, that I only touch upon , which, should any one more curiously search into, they would find matter enough to produce infinite essays: neither those stories, nor my allegations, do always serve, simply, for example, authority, or ornament. I do not only regard them so for the use I make of them; they carry sometimes, besides what I apply them to, the feed of a more rich and bolder matter, and sometimes, collaterally, a more delicate sound, both to me myself, who will express no more in this place, and to others who shall happen to be of my ear. Like Longinus's sublime, a great deal more is left to the reader to supply (by the path of thought it leads him into) than is expressed.[584]

Montaigne characterised his collection of *Essais* as a sublime in the sense of an "unfinished" literary form that stimulates the reader's imagination and reasoning. To the same end Richardson Junior compiled moralising extracts and anecdotes under the title *Richardsoniana.* "Reading", he explains in the introduction, "will thus be made much more delightful, by perpetually kindling, as it were, new lights in the imagination, for the judgment to work upon, and, at the same time, all its discoveries will be fixed and rooted in the memory, and turned to advantage, and ever ready as use shall call them forth."[585] Thus, Richardson Junior approaches *Richardsoniana* as a collection of prose sketches to his father's collection of (old master) drawings. Not surprisingly he compared the writing of *Richardsoniana* to his father's practice of "taking elegant sketches and remembrances of the most beautiful prospects."[586]

Richardson Junior collected moralising extracts written by ancient and modern writers and composed ethical anecdotes in order to accustom "the mind more and more to reflection."[587] He clearly wanted *Richardsoniana* to be understood as an engaging and

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[582] *Rabi al-Abrar* is a vast collection of sayings and anecdotes by the Arabian theologian Abu'l-Qasim Mahmud bin 'Umar az-Zamakhshari (1074–1143).

[583] See Screech's introduction to Montaigne, *The Complete Essays,* 1991, xiii–lviii.

[584] *Richardsoniana,* 1. See Michel de Montaigne *The essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne, translated into English. The eighth edition, with very considerable amendments and improvements [...],* London 1776 (3 vols), I, 292f. See also Screech's deviating translation in Montaigne, *The Complete Essays,* 1991, 281.

[585] *Richardsoniana,* iv.

[586] *Richardsoniana,* v.

[587] *Richardsoniana,* vii.

varied collection of *histories* through which moral and aesthetic principles were conveyed. He literally refers to Thucydides's maxim that "history is teaching philosophy by examples."[588] The book is written to show "how to conduct ourselves in all situations of public and private life."[589] In a way, *Richardsoniana* thus summarised Richardson Senior's thoughts on the moral nature of man, with which his aesthetic writings were interspersed.

A most peculiar feature of Richardson Senior's art theories are the philosophical excurses on the moral nature of man, often unexpectedly situated in the general discourse on aesthetic issues. In these digressions Richardson repeatedly philosophises on the uncertainty and contingency of human nature and understanding. Richardson believed that human existence is nothing but a sequence of eventualities excited by perpetually changing ideas, sentiments, and conditions.[590] No possible occurrences are foreseeable. In view of these existential imponderabilities, which anticipate Hume's scepticism, Richardson felt the necessity to evolve a "Plan for a Happy Life."

> The Desire of Happiness is the Spring that puts us all in Motion; We receive it together with the Breath of Life; We are touch'd by this Magnet upon our very Entrance into Being, and ever after tend thitherwards with all the Power of our Souls: This is the End in which we All agree, tho' as to the Way there is infinite Variety, and Error. Pleasure is but another Name for Happiness, we are Happy in proportion as we are Pleas'd; the Summ Total of our Enjoyments, and the Degree of them during our Existence, being compar'd with that of our Sufferings, the *Surplufage* on the Side of Enjoyment is the Account of the Degree of Happiness to which we arrive; the Share which was allotted us of the Divine Bounty. Pleasure is our *Summum Bonum;* and whatsoever Some Men may Pretend, or Fancy, God himself is consider'd by us as Such no otherwise than as 'tis conceiv'd he is the Fountain of Good to Us.[591]

Following the moral-philosophical ideas of early eighteenth-century thinkers such as Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and Joseph Butler (1692–1752), who discussed the idea of self-love not in terms of a pure egotism but of an ethical principle[592], Richardson continued to define "Self-love, that Motive to all our Actions" as the one great tenet in which all "whether Duty, Love of Virtue, Interest, Ambition, Sensuality etc." terminates. Akin to Butler and Bolingbroke, who considered the human nature as a system of parts in which passion is controlled by self-love and benevolence and these again controlled by the principle of reflection, Richardson believed that self-love has to be rationally reflected. Only "a Consciousness of having done well, of having Acted like a Man, not

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[588] *Richardsoniana*, xii.
[589] *Richardsoniana*, xii.
[590] See Richardson 1719, I, 1ff.
[591] Richardson 1719, II, 159f.
[592] For the philosophical concept of *self-love* see Ritter (eds.), IX (1995), 477ff. See also Alan R. White, 'Conscience and Self-love' in 'Butler's Sermons', in: *Philosophy* 27 (1952), 329–44, and Stephen 1778, II, 46ff. and 173ff.

like a Brute"[593] leads to pleasure and happiness. Ingeniously, Alexander Pope summarised these philosophical intricacies in the second epistle of *An Essay on Man* (1733), where he investigates "the Nature and State of Man, with respect to Himself, as an Individual" poetically.

> Two Principles in human nature reign;
> Self-love, to urge, and reason, to restrain;
> Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call,
> Each works its end, to move or govern all:
> And to their proper operation fill,
> Ascribe all Good; to their improper, Ill.
> Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;
> Reason's comparing balances rules the whole.[594]

Like Richardson, Pope sensed the dangerous imponderabilities of the nature of man. Pope wrote *An Essay on Man* as a "System of Ethics" to visualise man's effort to understand and accept his place in the universe. To "vindicate the ways of God to Man" is the main task of the poem.[595] Both, Pope and Richardson believed that only in conjunction with a noble conception of the "Supreme Being", we are capable of having "such a perception of the Nature of Mankind, and such a Self-Consciousness as from thence."[596] The idea "we happen to have of this Incomprehensible Being" is, according to Richardson, "of the utmost importance to our Happiness."[597] He concludes that the "Foundation of a Happy Life must be laid in the Idea we have of God."[598]

Richardson's son made the moral-philosophical idea of happiness the main subject of his introduction to *Richardsoniana.* "[T]he total amount of human happiness", he explains, consists in the union of "*self-love* and *social.*"[599]

> *Self-love* seems to be the very same in the moral economy of providence, that attraction is in the natural, and is kept in its due bounds by the very same counter-attraction all around it; every particular body, in both alike, drawing singly to itself [...] *Self-love* then all our won experience, and all our observations and reading of that of others, will prove to be then only well-directed, for our own sakes, when it is also *social.* This is so true, that it will be found to be the very sum of the gospel system of morals [...][600]

Following his father's thoughts, Richardson Junior clearly distinguishes between "unconditional self-love" being the "one fixed universal bias of undisciplined mankind" and self-love, which is "rightly understood and directed", and thus "equally serves the

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[593] Richardson 1719, II, 161.
[594] *Essay on Man,* epistle II, l. 53-60, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 62.
[595] *Essay on Man,* epistle I, l. 16, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 14. See also Patricia Meyer Spacks, *An Argument of Images. The Poetry of Alexander Pope,* Cambridge 1971, 43.
[596] Richardson 1719, II, 165.
[597] Richardson 1719, II, 164.
[598] Richardson 1719, II, 158-165.
[599] *Richardsoniana,* x.
[600] *Richardsoniana,* x-xi.

individual and the society."[601] Virtue, according to Richardson Junior, is "no other than *self-love* and *social* united, which is the gospel and word of God."[602]

However, in contrast to many empirically minded thinkers Richardson Senior and Junior discussed the idea of happiness not simply in terms of moral philosophy, they made it a matter of the visual arts. Incorporated into his observations on Raphael's 'School of Athens' in *An Account* (1722), Richardson Senior explained,

> After Divinity, which is to teach us the Knowledge of the Supreme Good, and provides for our Happiness, not only Here, but throughout our whole Existence, that is for Endless Ages; and Philosophy, which is to Regulate our Passions, and Inlarge our Understandings in the Present State, and so to promote our Happiness Here; After These comes Poetry, whose Business it is to Improve that Happiness, to add Delight to Instruction and to Impregnate our Minds with the Most Noble, and Beautiful Images, and so to advance us into a State above that of Common Men, as the Other Sciences raise us above Brutes.[603]

The fact that Richardson had these thoughts while observing Raphael's 'School of Athens' and 'Parnassus' shows that painting indeed is a much more effective means to improve happiness by way of impregnating "our Minds with the Most Noble, and Beautiful Images." Describing himself as a man who takes "in More Pleasure at my Eyes than Most Men"[604], Richardson clearly believed that happiness is particularly excited by visual objects. Corresponding to this he observed that paintings and sculptures "are not necessary to our Being; Brutes and Savage Men subsist without them: But to our Happiness as Rational Creatures they are Absolutely so."[605] It is, according to Richardson Senior, "of no Small Consequence towards the Happiness of Life to have a Lively, Inventive, a Great and Beautiful Imagination, 'twill always furnish Us with Delight, Fill up all the Chasms in Time, and Intervals of Business, and Sweeten even Those, which most People seem to Consider but as the Offals, if not the Incumbrance of Life."[606] Poetry and works of art have thus "Proportionable Influence on the Mind", for they instigate the reader's or, respectively, the spectator's imagination.[607] Being a matter of imagination, happiness is largely the result of mankind's visual capacities. And this human capacity, Richardson believed, has to be sensitised by way of cultivating connoisseurial judgment and refining taste. To this end Richardson Senior wrote his art theory treatises as well as *Explanatory Notes* (1734). To the same end, Richardson Junior published "Occasional reflections on the Moral Nature of Man" under the title *Richardsoniana.*

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[601] *Richardsoniana*, viii–ix.
[602] *Richardsoniana*, xii.
[603] Richardson 1722, 214.
[604] Richardson 1734, cxxiii.
[605] Richardson 1722, 97.
[606] Richardson 1734, clviii-clix.
[607] Richardson 1734, clvi.

On the whole, this chapter gives insight into the refined world of ideas of the "Complicated *Richardson.*" While the sequence of portraits of Richardson Junior is rooted in the Richardsons' co-operation as connoisseurs and literary critics, Richardson Senior's *Morning Thoughts* and his son's *Richardsoniana* illustrate the intellectual struggle of empirically minded thinkers endeavouring to reconcile rational thinking with Christian faith. The portraits, the poems, and the moral miscellaneous are different ways of grappling with the philosophical problem of human understanding aesthetically.

V. 'an Ancient, but born two Thousand Years after His Time.' Richardson's biography and portraits of John Milton

ON MILTON
O bard beyond compare, my soul's delight!
Teach me thy page, I not presume to write.
J. Richardson, Dec. 12, 1733.

For more than four decades Jonathan Richardson was intensely preoccupied with Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a poetical variation on the Biblical description of the creation, first issued in 1667.[608] According to his own account, he first discovered Milton's *magnum opus* during his apprenticeship at John Riley's in about 1688:

> I, even I, while a Youth, and not having ever Honour'd Other Names in Modern Poetry than *Shakespear, Cowley, Dryden* &c. and whom, especially the two first, I was fond (as I always was of the Muses) but *Milton* I had never heard of; I happening to find the First Quarto in Mr. *Riley's* Painting-Room was Dazzled with it, and from that Hour all the rest (*Shakespear* excepted) Faded in my Estimation, or Vanish'd. I immediately began to Store up in my Mind Passages to Regale and Nourish my Mind with at All times.[609]

At the time of Richardson's discovery *Paradise Lost* was not an overly popular book. It was Jacob Tonson's (1655–1736) great subscription-published folio edition of 1688 that established John Milton's (1608–1674) reputation as one of England's greatest authors.[610] From the beginning, Richardson's interest in Milton was not so much that of a professional literary critic but of an amateurish enthusiast. He deemed *Paradise Lost* more than an extraordinary literary composition; it became a "divine poem" by which he felt morally instructed and spiritually comforted. To Richardson, as to many contemporaries, reading *Paradise Lost* was an aesthetic delight combined with religious enlightenment.[611] This experience profoundly shaped Richardson's *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, issued in 1734.

What distinguished Richardson's discourse on *Paradise Lost* from those of contemporary readers and critics is his specifically humanist interest in the poem. Richardson identified the poem's content with the history and intellectual emancipation

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[608] John Milton, *Paradise Lost. A Poem. Written in Ten Books*, London 1667. The first edition printed the poem in ten books and without the "Arguments" at the head of each book. It was only in the second revised edition of 1674 in which the poem was divided into twelve books, and each book was introduced with an Argument. See John Milton, *Paradise Lost. A Poem, in Twelve Books*, London 1674. Unless indicated differently I will refer to John Leonard's edition of *Paradise Lost* in *The Complete Poems* by John Milton, London 1998, 119–406.

[609] Richardson 1734, cxviii–cxix.

[610] John Milton, *Paradise Lost [...] The Fourth Edition, Adorned with Sculptures*, London 1688. See Walsh 1997, 53ff, and Kathleen Martha Lynch, *Jacob Tonson. Kit-Cat Publisher*, Knoxville 1971, 126ff.

[611] See Morris 1972, 47ff, and Moore 1990, 3ff.

of mankind. He was mesmerised by Milton's delineation of human nature. The purpose of the poem, Richardson maintained, "is to conduct Man through Variety of Conditions of Happiness and Distress, All Terminating in the Utmost Good."[612] While ridiculed by some contemporary scholars, Richardson's humanist approach to *Paradise Lost* anticipates our modern understanding of Milton's epos in many essential aspects.[613] Yet this humanist interest is not limited to *Paradise Lost* as a poetical narrative of the "Ancestor of Human Kind"[614], it is also directed to Milton himself. Throughout his *Explanatory Notes* Richardson revered the sublime nature of the author's mind and imagery. The following chapter will explore how profoundly Milton's poetry influenced Richardson's aesthetic and humanist ideas and how, in return, Richardson created an eternal monument to the poet in his biography and portraits.

'the Face We Chiefly desire to be Acquainted with'

In the course of his work on *Explanatory Notes* Richardson developed a determined interest in pictorial representations of John Milton. He became an enthusiastic collector of historical portraits of Milton with the result that the few portraits—today considered to be authentic depictions of the poet—were in Richardson's collection. In the early 1730s Richardson acquired from George Vertue the pastel portrait attributed to William Faithorne (1616–1691) (fig. 141).[615] Judging from two Cornell University Library-owned portrait drawings of Milton by Richardson (fig. 142 and 143), inscribed "Milton from Cooper", Richardson also possessed or had access to a portrait miniature by Samuel Cooper (1609–1672).[616] And the numerous chalk and plumbago drawings after a clay bust attributed to Edward Pierce II (died 1695) (fig. 144) show that Richardson also had access to this image of Milton (fig. 145-148).[617] It is unclear whether Richardson temporarily owned this bust or whether George Vertue, in whose collection this bust was

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[612] Richardson 1734, cxlvi.

[613] See in particular Stanley Eugene Fish, *Surprised by Sin. The Reader in Paradise Lost*, Basingstoke 1997 (2nd edition) and Marshall Grossman, *Authors to Themselves. Milton and the Revelation of History*, Cambridge 1987.

[614] Richardson 1734, cx.

[615] See John Rupert Martin, *The Portrait of John Milton at Princeton and its Place in Milton Iconography*, Princeton 1961, 10ff.

[616] See *The Drawings of Jonathan Richardson at Cornell. Celebrating the Tercentenary of the Birth of Alexander Pope*, Ithaca & New York, 1988, 2. For Samuel Cooper's activity as a miniaturist see Graham Reynolds, *English Portrait Miniatures. Revised Edition*, Cambridge 1988 (2nd edition), 47ff. and Daphne Foskett, *Samuel Cooper and his Contemporaries*, London 1974.

[617] For Pierce see Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain,1550–1830*, Harmondsworth 1964, 45-47.

verifiably integrated during the 1730s[618], allowed his friend and colleague Richardson access to the bust.

The portrait of Milton, which Richardson executed as frontispiece to *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734), presumably became the artist's most renowned etched work (fig. 149). Right on the first pages of his long-winded biography of Milton, Richardson directs the reader's attention to the "Print Prefix'd" that "shows the Face of him who *Wrote Paradise Lost*, the Face We Chiefly desire to be Acquainted with."[619] Throughout his work on *Explanatory Notes* Richardson paid particular attention to the portrait of Milton. Accordingly, he introduced Milton's biography with a thorough description of the etched frontispiece:

> 'Tis done from a Picture which I have reason to believe that he Sate for not long before his Death, I have therefore given a little more Vigour to the Print, and but a Little. the Complexion must be Imagin'd as of One who had been Fair and Fresh Colour'd. *Toland* says he was Ruddy to the Last, My Picture and other Information does not tell us That, but that he might have been So not long before the Colour of his Eyes inclin'd to Blue, not Deep; and though Sightless, they were as he says Himself, *Clear to Outward View of Blemish or Spot*; he was Told So, and 'tis Certain the *Gutta Serena* (which was His Case) does not appear to Common Eyes, and at a little Distance; but Blindness, even of That Kind is Visible, in the colour, Motion and Look of the Eye which has the sad Unhappiness of being Extinguish'd by it. 'tis Wonderfully Exprest in the Picture from Whence this Print was made ... I have Imitated it as well as I could in a Way of Working which I Never Practic'd but on a Few Plates, and Those in my Youth, except an Attempt on One or Two near 20 Years ago. the Laurel is not in the Picture, the two Lines under it are my Reason for putting it There, not what Otherwise would have been Imagin'd. All the World has given it him long since.[620]

The picture Richardson refers to as the model for his etching is the pastel portrait attributed to William Faithorne, now in the Princeton University Library (fig. 149).[621] This pastel, painted in about 1670, became the archetype for a whole class of engraved portraits of Milton.[622] Vertue, from whom Richardson bought the pastel in the early 1730s, made also several drawings and engravings after it (fig. 150 and 151).[623] Like Vertue, Richardson deemed the portrait an authentic likeness of the poet. In order to underline the portrait's authenticity, Richardson tells his readers how Milton's daughter,

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[618] See Langford 1772, First Night's Sale, lot 55. For George Vertue's collection see also Mr. Ford, *A Catalogue of the Entire Large and Valuable Collection of Prints, Drawings and Books of Prints of Mr. George Vertue, Engraver*, London 1757.

[619] Richardson 1734, ii.

[620] Richardson 1734, ii–iii.

[621] See Martin 1961, 10ff.; Leo Miller, 'Milton's Portraits. An Impartial Inquiry into their Authenticity', in: *Milton Quarterly* (Special Issue: Milton's Portraits) (1975), 5ff. and John Fitchett Marsh, 'The Engraved Portraits and Pretended Portraits of Milton', in: *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 12 (1859/60), 135–188.

[622] See Martin 1961, 11 and Marsh 1860, 135ff.

[623] See *Milton Tercentenary* 1908, 39ff.

Deborah Clarke (born 1652), responded to this picture when being faced with it during a visit of Vertue in 1721.

> The Picture in Crayons I have of him was shown her After several Others, which were Pretended to be His; when Those were shown, and She was Ask'd if She could recollect if She had ever seen Such a Face. No, No. but when This was Produc'd, in a Transport,—'tis my Father; 'tis my dear Father! I see him! 'tis Him! and then She put her Hands to several Parts of Her Face, 'tis the very Man! Here, Here—[624]

It was presumably Vertue himself who told Richardson this episode,[625] for both were very interested in having an authentic portrait of Milton as model for engraving: Vertue with regard to his series of historical portraits and Richardson with regard to *Explanatory Notes*. When Richardson acquired the pastel he was as convinced of its genuineness. However, Richardson did not only copy the composition, but he modified it deliberately. Believing this portrait came into origin not long before Milton's death in 1674, Richardson gave "a little more Vigour to the Print." Thus, he rejuvenated Milton "but a Little" in order to enable his readers to see Milton exactly as he looked when he wrote *Paradise Lost* during the 1660s. Another modification concerned the laurel wreath, added by Richardson. This symbol of poetical power is connected with the "two lines" beneath the picture that Richardson put there for "my Reason" as he explained himself cryptically. The couplet derives from *Mansus*, a Latin poem John Milton dedicated to his friend Giovanni Battista Manso (1569–1645), Marquis of Villas, written in 1638.

> *Forsitan & nostros ducat de marmore vultus,*
> *Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside Lauri*
> *Fronde comas, at ego secura, pace quiescam.*[626]
>
> Perhaps he might have my face copied in marble,
> binding my hair with leaves of Paphian myrtle or Parnassian laurel,
> and I should rest in tranquil peace.[627]

Through these lines Milton introduces himself as a venerable liberal poet. In combining the etched portrait with these lines Richardson made Milton "his own Advocate".[628] Moreover, by introducing Milton in this form, Richardson sensed in the poet an incomparably intense self-consciousness as an artist which "necessarily involved Milton in direct competition with Homer, Lucretius, Ovid, Dante, and Tasso, among other precursors."[629] At the same time Richardson used Milton's line to explain the

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[624] Richardson 1734, xxxvi.
[625] See Vertue's account of this visit in *Vertue Note Books*, I, 79. See also Miller 1975, 4ff.
[626] Milton's poem *Mansus* was frequently published during the early eighteenth century. See, for example, John Milton, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, London 1731 (2 vols), II, 279–282.
[627] For the translation see Leonard's edition of Milton's *Complete Poems*, London 1998, 588.
[628] Richardson 1734, xxxiii.
[629] See Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, Oxford 1975, 125.

purpose of his own work, *Explanatory Notes,* that is to offer Milton the deserved but neglected respect as *poeta laureatus.*

In connection with Milton's verses Richardson's etched portrait also alludes to his fictitious version of Raphael's 'Parnassus' in *Explanatory Notes.* Toward the end of the biographical account Richardson maintained that "in the *Parnassus* [...] *Dante* is represented as having his Eye upon *Homer*; had *Milton* been put there, *Homer* and He ought to have been Embracing Each other. he Knew him Perfectly; it should not be said he Copy'd, he Imitated him, but that they both Wrote by the Self-same Poetical Genius."[630] In Raphael's fresco in the Vatican stanze, Homer (8th century BC) and Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) are both crowned with laurel wreaths (fig. 152). In this context the etched portrait of Milton can also be read as a "detail" of Richardson's invented version of Raphael's 'Parnassus', demonstrating Milton's spiritual affinity with Homer. As a result, the etched portrait of Milton introduces the poet not only visually but summarises Richardson's biography pictorially. For a learned reader, well-versed in Milton's poetry, the etched portrait combined with the three lines from Milton's *Mansus* referred to ideals of friendship, poetical genius, and learning, aspects that played a significant role in Milton's poem to his friend Manso as well as in Richardson's biographical account of the poet.

While working on *Explanatory Notes* Richardson obsessively began to execute portrait drawings after the pastel portrait attributed to Faithorne, Cooper's miniature and the alleged Edward Pierce II bust. Of exceptional informality are the "Sixteen heads of Milton after a bust, in the possession of the late Mr. Vertue", as the series of crayon and plumbago drawings is described in the sales catalogue of Richardson Junior's collection (fig. 145–148).[631] Approaching the bust from different angles, these portrait drawings represent Milton's face in profile, the head slighly turned to either the left or the right side. These studies are comparable with Richardson's experimental self-portrait drawings or portrait drawings of his son displaying a variety of poses. The studies after the bust of Milton give the impression they were drawn swiftly one after another. It is the sequential nature of these drawings that indicates the subject of these studies is not only the bust of Milton itself but also the artist's process of perceiving it. Like the self-portrait drawings, each drawing constitutes a new approach by which the artist endeavours to "Take in, Retain, and Manage, Clear and Distinct Ideas" in terms of Locke's empiricism.[632]

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[630] Richardson 1734, cxlix.
[631] Langford 1772, First Night's Sale, lot 55.
[632] Richardson 1719 I, 200.

This epistemological aspect, the process of discerning and reflecting ideas, is more explicit in Richardson's drawings after the bust by Pierce, a three-dimensional object, than in the painter's studies after the two-dimensional portrait miniature by Cooper (fig. 142 and 143) and the pastel portrait attributed to Faithorne. Compared with the sequence of drawings after the bust, these studies, mostly plumbago or pen drawings, appear not so much to originate from Richardson's interest in experimenting with his perceptive faculties. Rather, in these portraits Richardson endeavours to accomplish a picture language that is congruent with Milton's extraordinary poetical genius. Being obliged to follow the historical portraits given two dimensions, Richardson used these studies as an aesthetic means of experimenting with questions of decorum and symbolic meaning. The result is an astonishingly compositional variety also created by the use of different drawing techniques. Rough pen sketches alternate with more refined and finished plumbago drawings. Some portrait drawings represent Milton alone without any symbolic elevation (fig. 153, 160 and 161). Then again, Milton is represented as *poeta laureatus*, adorned with the laurel wreath (fig. 154), or as the English Homer, wearing the philosopher's ribbon (fig. 155 and 156). It was, in particular, Vertue's engraving after a Roman bust of Homer in the Farnese Collection in Rome, which contributed to the popularity of the poet's likeness with natural hair and ribbon (fig. 157). Vertue executed this engraving as frontispiece to Alexander Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1715–20).[633]

It is, however, interesting that Richardson executed only a few profile portraits, the most distinguished form of portraiture, of Milton (fig. 158 and 159). These profile portraits, in the form of a medallion, appear neither to be related to Faithorne's pastel portrait nor to Pierce's bust or Cooper's miniature. A comparison with Richardson's studies after Faithorne's pastel shows that the profile portrait is the result of Richardson's attempt to imagine the Faithorne likeness in profile. However, the inscription beneath the drawn portrait in the medallion—reading "A. Pope, as Milton", written in Richardson Junior's hand—indicates that these profile portraits of Milton have also to be seen in connection with the profile portraits of Alexander Pope, where Richardson merged the features of Pope with the ones of other poets in order to achieve the ideal likeness of the *poeta laureatus* (fig. 166).

Some of Richardson's studies of Milton, in particular those after the pastel attributed to Faithorne, served as preliminary drawings for the etched versions of

[633] *The Iliad of Homer. Translated by Mr. Pope,* London 1715-20 (6 vols), I, frontispiece. Unless indicated differently I will refer to this work as *Pope's Iliad.*

Milton's face. For example, the plumbago drawing in the British Museum (fig. 160) is clearly related to an etched portrait of Milton in the Princeton University Library (fig. 161). Unlike the drawn portrait of Milton, the etched composition is adorned with six lines of verse by Richardson Junior:

> Authentic Homer Light's whole Fountain flows.
> Immense! Feirce Dazling yet, & Torrent Glows:
> His Temper'd Beam the Mantuan Bard reflects,
> Shines Sweeter, & his Fairest Rays Selects:
> Thine Milton Both, but not Both These Alone;
> Thou, Like Elysium, Know'st Another Sun.

The poem not only speaks of Richardson Junior's fascination for Milton's sublime imagery of light and darkness, but essentially repeats his father's characterisation of Milton as "an Ancient but born two Thousand Years after his Time", whose poetical genius is "Assisted by a Religion Reveal'd by God Himself"[634] and whose poetry therefore is superior to that of Homer and Virgil, the "Mantuan Bard". Being described as someone who knows "Another Sun", Richardson characterised Milton not simply as a poet superior to others, but also as a particularly gifted man who excels mankind. In both the drawn and the etched compositions, Richardson's attention is entirely drawn to Milton's facial features; waistcoat and cloak are indicated with a few sketchy lines. Like the pencil study, the etching gives the impression of an unfinished drawing. Despite the similarities between drawing and etching, the etched portrait is clearly an autonomous work, designed directly on the plate.

As early as 1719, Richardson explicitly refers to etching as a technique to design.[635] With regard to "originals and coppies" Richardson observed in *An Essay on Criticism*:

> Of Prints there are two kinds: Such as are done by by the Masters themselves whose Invention the Work is; and such as are done by Men not pretending to Invent but to Coppy (in Their way) Other men's Works. ... The Former Sort may again be Subdivided into three Kinds. 1. Those they have done after a Painting of their Own. 2. Those done after a Drawing also done by Themselves, or Lastly what is Design'd upon the Plate which has been Sometimes done especially in Etching. The 1st of these are Coppies after their Own Works; and so may the 2nd, or they may not, according as the Drawing they have made previously to it happens to be: but Both are so but in part; what is Thus done being a Different way of Working. But if it be Design'd on the Plate 'tis a kind of Drawing (as the Others are) tho' in a Manner Different from the rest, but 'tis purely, and properly Original.[636]

Like drawing, Richardson obviously used etching as a technique to compose and to experiment. The entries in the sales catalogue of Richardson Junior's collection (1772), listing more than four hundred "proofs, reverses, and variations" confirm that

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[634] Richardson 1734, clii.
[635] Richardson 1719, I, 196.
[636] Richardson 1719, I, 194–6.

Richardson used etching not simply as a technique to reproduce but also as a means to design. Lot 22 of the Fifth Night's Sale, for example, records, "Ten ditto [etchings] of Milton, proof reverses &c."[637] When Richardson began experimenting with etching in the early 1730s, it was a technique that was not cultivated in England.[638] Among Richardson's colleagues and friends it is the painter and engraver, Arthur Pond (1701–1758), who stands out for using etching to reproduce old master drawings.[639] In the years between 1734 and 1747 he published a series, *Prints in Imitation of Drawings,* including twenty-one etchings after drawings in Richardson's collection.[640] Because of its delicate nature etching became a favourite technique to reproduce not only old master drawings but also landscape sketches in the following decades.[641] Etched portraits, however, were rare. It was only in the 1750s that painter and engraver Thomas Worlidge (1700–1766), the "English Rembrandt", began to popularise etching as an investigative technique for portraits in the manner of Rembrandt.[642] Richardson, however, began to experiment with etching during the 1730s, presumably encouraged by examples in his collection of old master drawings and prints.

Another version of Milton as "an Ancient but born two Thousand Years after his Time"[643] constitutes Richardson's etched portrait of Milton representing a sculpted bust of the poet (fig. 162). A drawn version of this composition clearly referring to the pastel attributed to Faithorne is preserved in the Cornell University Library (fig. 163). As in a classical statue Richardson deliberately left the eyes blank. The idea to transform Milton's likeness into the semblance of a sculpted bust was presumably instigated by Milton's Latin poem, *Mansus,* in which the poet envisioned his own memorial in form of a marble bust crowned with laurel wreath. This form of depiction not only idealises Milton as eternal *poeta laureatus,* it also refers to Milton's loss of sight before he began *Paradise Lost.* Like many early eighteenth-century readers, Richardson was particularly fascinated by the antagonism of Milton's physical blindness and his extraordinary poetical imagery.[644] Both aspects are aesthetically amalgamated in the form of the sculpted bust. At the same time,

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[637] Langford 1772, Fifth Night's Sale, lots 22 and 35.
[638] See Wimsatt 1965, 181.
[639] See Louise Lippincott, *'Selling Art' in Georgian London. The Rise of Arthur Pond',* New Haven & London 1983, 128–30 and Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802,* New Haven & London 1997, 70f.
[640] See Louise Lippincott, 'Arthur Pond's Journal of Receipts and Expenses, 1734-1750', in: *The Walpole Society* 54 (1988) 220-333, esp. 223ff. See also Walpole, *Catalogue of Engravers,* 1786, 238.
[641] See William Austin, *A Specimen of Sketching Landscapes, in a Free and Masterly Manner, with a Pen or Pencil [...]* [London 1781].
[642] See Clayton 1997, 127; Ellen G. d'Oench, "A Madness to have his prints': Rembrandt and Georgian Taste, 1720–1800', in: White (ed.) 1983, 63ff., esp. 93–6.
[643] Richardson 1734, cxlvii.
[644] See Richardson 1734, cxi-cxiii.

this form of representation illustrates Milton's affinity with ancient poetry. His mind, maintains Richardson "was truly Christian", but he had "the Pen of One who had the Soul of an Ancient Philosopher and Poet".[645] This idea is enhanced by the Greek inscription of the poet's name, MIΛTO, on the base. The etched version of this portrait was used as frontispiece in Samuel Say's essays on the metre of *Paradise Lost,* posthumously published in 1745.[646]

In experimenting with a variety of compositional ideas and symbolic meanings, Richardson endeavoured to create a pictorial image that illustrates Milton's unsurpassable poetical genius. In so doing, Richardson distinguished himself as an excellent draughtsman who deliberately used drawing and etching as a medium to experiment. However, compared with the artist's self-portraits and the portraits of his son, the series of portraits of Milton appears to be less investigative. An exception is the sequence of drawings after the bust attributed to Pierce II: Each drawing constitutes a new approach by which Richardson endeavoured to record the process of perceiving a three-dimensional object. In numerous studies after Faithorne's portraits of Milton, Richardson's perceptive and creative freedoms by contrast appear to be narrowed: It is the two-dimensionality of these works that limited Richardson's creativity to experimenting with symbolic meaning.

'the Author of *Paradise Lost*'

"Not a Panegyrick, not to give my Own Sense of What a Man should be, but what This Man Really was."[647] This is what Richardson intended to present the readers of *Explanatory Notes* in his biographical account of Milton. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) most certainly would have ranked Richardson's biography as one of "too many honeysuckle lives of Milton" that should not have been written.[648] Richardson, however, was confident his biography "can give a More Exact, and a more Just Idea of Milton."[649] This idea is largely inclined to the painter's boundless admiration for Milton's poetical masterpiece, with the result that he is not writing a biography of Milton, but of "the Author of *Paradise Lost.*"

From the beginning of the exposure of Milton's authority, the public decidedly distinguished between Milton, author of *Paradise Lost,* and Milton, political radical. While

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[645] Richardson 1734, lx.
[646] Say 1745, 138.
[647] Richardson 1734, i.
[648] Quoted in Martin Maner, *The Philosophical Biographer. Doubt and Dialectic in Johnson's Lives of the Poets,* Athens 1988, 98.
[649] Richardson 1734, i.

Milton the politician was regarded with persistent hostility for his republicanism, his advocacy of divorce, and his anti-prelacy, Milton the poet came to be regarded as a writer touched by the divine.[650] One of the most disdainful portraits of Milton was given by Anthony à Wood (1632–1695) in 1691, who still considered the poet a political opponent.[651]

> [...] Milton sided with the Faction, and being a man of parts, was therefore more capable than another of doing mischief, especially by his pen [...] he became a great Antimonarchist, a bitter Enemy to K. Ch. I. and at length arrived to that monstrous and unparallel'd height of profligate impudence, as in Print to justify the most execrable Murder of him the best of Kings [...].[652]

Milton's political character is a feature that was to prejudice Samuel Johnson's life of the poet almost a century later.[653] Akin to other early eighteenth-century Milton biographers, such as John Toland (1670–1722), Elijah Fenton (1683–1730), Thomas Birch, and Thomas Newton (1704–1782), Richardson endeavoured to reconcile these antagonisms.[654] Similar to Toland's biography, Richardson's account of Milton's life therefore became a general discourse on liberty and freedom of thought in terms of Locke's philosophy. In contrast to Toland's politically coloured account, Richardson approached Milton as human, endowed, of course, with extraordinary artistic potential. "[...] let us Consider him", Richardson urged his readers, "as an Individual of the Species, as a Rational Creature, not as of any Particular Country, or as having had his small Portion of Being in whatsoever Point of the Vast Circle of Eternity."[655] Despite his own assurances, Richardson eventually communicated much of his "Own Sense of What a Man should be" throughout his biographical account.

Richardson wrote the biography of Milton in a manner that, in many respects revisited his art theories. He approached Milton as he would approach a work of art. "As in a Composition in Painting", Richardson explained, "there Ought to be Certain Groups or Masses, that the Eyes may not be Perplex'd and Confounded; in This Picture of this Extraordinary Man there should be the Like Art used to Assist the Reader to View and

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[650] John T. Shawcross, *John Milton. The Critical Heritage*, London 1995 (2 vols), II, 1ff.
[651] Helen Darbishire, *The Early Lives of Milton*, London 1932, vii–lxi.
[652] Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis*, Oxford 1691, quoted in Darbishire 1932, 38f.
[653] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the English Poets: and a Criticism on their Works*, Dublin 1780-1781 (3 vols), I, 137–230, esp. 148ff. For Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* see furthermore Maner 1988 and Lipking 1970, 405ff.
[654] John Toland's biography appeared as introduction to *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*, Amsterdam & London 1698 (3 vols). Elijah Fenton's 'Life of Milton' was published for the first time in Jacob Tonson's twelfth edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, London 1725, v–xxviii. Thomas Birch attached a long-winding biography to his edition of *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*, London 1738 (2 vols), I, i–xcvii, and Newton wrote a biography to his edition of *Paradise Lost [...] With Notes of Various Authors*, London 1749 (2 vols), I, i–lxi.
[655] Richardson 1734, xviii.

Comprehend the Whole Clearly and at Ease."[656] As Richardson subdivided painting into individual categories to objectify the connoisseurial approach, he also divided the biography in clearly distinguishable parts. And as he urged connoisseurs and painters to differentiate clearly between distinct ideas and to rely on their rational faculties rather than on authoritative opinions, Richardson asked readers to take into account all facts and probabilities of Milton's life before rashly judging the author of *Paradise Lost.* Under the motto *Humanum est Errare* Richardson entered a general discourse on freedom of thought and tolerance:

> Whenever we differ in Our Opinions, Each Disputant Alike Thinks the Other in the Wrong Which is So must be left to Him, whose *Thoughts are not as Our Thoughts,* but who is a Common, and an Indulgent Father to Both Parties, How much soever they are Imbitter'd against Each Other. Difference in Opinion will Always be, but All should agree in Mutual Good Will, Forbearance and Charity.[657]

The idea of liberty and freethinking became a central motif of Richardson's Milton biography. Throughout, Richardson emphasised that Milton always adhered to "an Honest and Free Exercise of the Understanding."[658] The same he asked his readers to do while reading the biographical account.

Based on the frontispiece (fig. 149), Richardson first described Milton's physical appearance, followed by observations on the poet's political, religious, and poetical character. He then gave a short account of the "Principal Occurrences of his Life; his Provision for Maintenance", and lastly "the General Character of his Life, as to Happiness."[659] In this context Richardson explicitly compares the process of writing a biography with the composition of a portrait: "As in making a Portrait, the Complexion and each particular Feature may have been Carefully enough Observ'd and Imitated, but still what is Most Important remains; the Air, the Mind, the Grace, the Dignity, the Capacity, the Vertue, Goodness."[660] This explanation gives the impression that Richardson jotted down thoughts on Milton's character while meditating on his own drawn and etched portraits of the poet.

In order to preserve objectivity Richardson made Milton "his own Advocate" by incorporating long passages from the poet's prose. This was a rather unusual approach to biographical writing in the early eighteenth century.[661] For Milton biographies, however, it had become commonplace since Toland's edition of the poet's prose works of 1698

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[656] Richardson 1734, xcvii.
[657] Richardson 1734, xix.
[658] Richardson 1734, xliii.
[659] Richardson 1734, ii.
[660] Richardson 1734, xxxviii–xxxix.
[661] See Lipking 1970, 415ff.

allowed Milton to speak for himself.[662] Milton's prose works, in fact, provided an enormous amount of autobiographical passages.[663] Like Toland, Birch, and Newton, Richardson quoted long passages from the poet's political writings, in particular *Apology for Smectymnus, Reason of Church Government,* the English translation of the two *Defences,* and the poet's correspondence.[664] Moreover, Richardson collected and copied all kind of documents that were, in one way or another, related to the poet's life. He possessed, for instance, a copy of the book of the House of Commons which documented that Milton was in custody in December 1660.[665] He also talked to descendants of contemporary acquaintances of Milton to determine the poet's habits and peculiarities.

Richardson presented this meticulously collected knowledge to his readers in a particularly idiosyncratic account interspersed with short interludes of the painter's own experiences and sentiments. For example, with respect to Milton's much discussed egotistical treatment of his daughters serving their father as reader and amanuensis, Richardson endeavoured to explain the generation gap "betwixt Parents and Children" in general. Yet in so doing he gives a highly personal account of his own sentiments.

> Would to God I could produce *Milton,* his Own Advocate on the Present, as on Other Occasions! He would do Himself Right, whether by Owning, or Denying the Justice of the Charge; He would Clear his Own Honour by Acquiring the Greatest, That of Scrupulously Adhering to Truth; but as for Ought we can learn, This Reflection on his Mind is Posthumous, I beg Leave to appear in His Stead, and hope to be heard with Patience and Candour defending Orphan-Reputation, by Imagining, as well as I can, what he Would have said; though far Otherwise than if he was Dictating to Me. Perhaps He would not have Condescended to have Answer'd These Cavillers, Unless by Roughly Asking them what Business they had to Concern themselves with, much less to Censure His Conduct in his Domestick Affairs; there being Secrets in All Families which no Body has a Right to Enquire into, and yet without Knowing These Thoroughly, and in Every Particular, no Solid Judgment can be made? [...] but if he had Condescended to give them Explicit Satisfaction, we may Imagine him telling them that these Daughters were born about the time his Sight fail'd him, that is about the Year 50. it cannot be Suppos'd they were capable of having Learnt before they were 12 years Old, till When they might as well be Thus employ'd as any how Else, not being kept to it too Strictly, which is not Pretended.[666]

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[662] See Darbishire 1932, vii-lxi.

[663] See Shawcross 1995, I, 35ff.

[664] John Milton, *The Reason of Church-Government Urg'd against Prelaty,* London 1641; *An Apology against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus,* London 1642; *Joannis Miltoni Angli Defensio pro populo Anglicano: contra Claudii Anonimi, aliàs Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam,* London 1751 and *Joannis Miltonii Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio secunda. Contra infamem libellum anonymum [by P. Du Moulin] cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus parricidas Anglicanos,* London 1754. For Milton's political treatises see also Martin Dzelzainis' recent edition of Milton's *Political Writings,* Cambridge 1991 (2 vols).

[665] Birch 1753, xlv.

[666] Richardson 1734, xxxiii-xxxiv.

Throughout the biography, Richardson endeavoured to put himself in Milton's place. Thus he wrote a particularly emotionally coloured biography that went far beyond the usual practice of biographers in the early eighteenth century, piling up "increasing quantities of undigested documentation with little attempt to interpret it", in antiquarian manner.[667] In view of his contemporaries' mocking remarks, Richardson probably carried interpretation and imagination too far. However, the result is that Milton emerged not simply as a poet of genius but as a person Richardson appears to be well acquainted with. Thus, Richardson humanised Milton as much as he glorified the "Author of *Paradise Lost.*"

Comparable to other biographers, Richardson distinguished between Milton's political, religious, and poetical character. With regard to his political opinions he characterised Milton as self-sacrificing patriot.

> Consider *Milton* as a *Briton, and a Brave One too,* and One who sacrific'd More than Most of us will Care to do, and Ventur'd Still More in the Cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, as he Thought, though upon Principles, and in a Manner, as You and I are Far from Approving.[668]

Richardson placed Milton among the republicans of Greece and Rome and thus associated him with classical heroes: "'tis certain he was a Republican: So was *Cato,* So was *Brutus,* So was *Phocion, Aristides.*—Such were Much the Most of the Greatest Names of Roman and Greek Antiquity."[669] Comparisons like these became commonplace in Augustan England.[670] Again, like other biographers, Richardson paid much attention to Milton's religious character, which he deemed to be "Much more Important than any of his Other Qualities."[671] In quoting passages of Milton's *Reason of Government* (1641) and *An Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642), Richardson endeavoured to demonstrate the orthodoxy of Milton's Christian faith. In response to the accusation of Arianism he maintained, "that *Milton* Believ'd in God, that he was a Christian and a Protestant is Certain, but what Denomination of all the Several Sub-divisions of These, or if of Any, known and Profess'd is not Clear; but he Ever was a Dissenter from Our Church as by Law Established."[672] The Scriptures, Richardson then explained, constituted an authoritative source of wisdom for Milton, but a source that required an individual interpretation: "His

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667 Hunter 2000, 252. See also Lipking 1970, 415ff.

668 Richardson 1734, xviii–xix.

669 Richardson 1734, xviii. See Dustin Griffin, *Regaining Paradise. Milton and the Eighteenth Century,* Cambridge 1986, 14.

670 See Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-century England,* Cambridge 1997, esp. 48ff.

671 Richardson 1734, xxxix.

672 Richardson 1734, xxxix. See John P. Rumrich, 'Milton's Arianism: Why it Matters', in: *Milton and Heresy,* ed. by Stephen B. Dobranski, Cambridge 1998, 75–92.

Rule was the Holy Scripture. This was his Guide in Faith and Practice, but Interpreted by his Own Judgement Ultimately."[673] Richardson represented Milton as a devout and, at the same time, empirically minded man of sense.

Milton's religious character is, according to Richardson, not only visible in his prose but particularly in his poetical works. *Paradise Lost,* the "Quintessence of All that is Excellent in Writing", is not simply the result of Milton's genius as a writer, but "Assisted by a Religion Reveal'd by God himself."[674] Poetical imagery and religious thought are thus inextricably intertwined. For this reason Richardson deemed *Paradise Lost* superior to ancient poetry: "whatever Milton has Woven into his Poem of Others, still his Sublimest Passages are More So than could enter the Heart of Orpheus, Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, Callimachus &c."[675] Richardson then portrayed Milton as "an Ancient, but born two Thousand Years after His Time."[676]

> *Milton* has profited Himself of what All, whether Ancients of One or the Other Class, have done, and of All that is to be found of Excellent among the Moderns, Little however in Comparison of the Other, but all He touches becomes as if 'twas the Pure Gold of Best Antiquity.[677]

Like many eighteenth-century readers Richardson felt that, with Milton, Britain at last had a writer to rival the classical poets. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, poet William Hayley (1745–1820) observed in his *Life of Milton,* "it is by the epic composition of Milton alone that England may esteem herself as a rival to antiquity in the highest province of literature."[678] As a modern classic, a British poet, and a Christian, Milton did not simply embody his country's literary ideals but became an authority in literary matters, an aspect Richardson also endeavoured to illustrate in the drawn and etched portraits of the poet.[679]

Aroused by the sublime imagery of *Paradise Lost* and its manifold allusions to classical sources, Milton's poetical genius became a fervently debated aspect by eighteenth-century commentators and writers.[680] Akin to many contemporaries, Richardson was particularly enthused by Milton's "Lively, Inventive, Great and Beautiful Imagination"[681] in view of the poet's physical blindness. Describing himself as a man who

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673 Richardson 1734, xli.
674 Richardson 1734, clii.
675 Richardson 1734, clii.
676 Richardson 1734, cxlvii.
677 Richardson 1734, cli.
678 William Hayley, *The Life of John Milton, with Conjectures on the Origin of Paradise Lost,* Basel 1799, 264.
679 See Griffin 1986, 37.
680 Griffin 1986, 37.
681 Richardson 1734, clviii-clix.

takes "In More Pleasure at my Eyes than Most Men"[682], Milton's blindness must have been an unimaginable burden for Richardson. Probably because of this, Richardson discoursed on the phenomenon of Milton's blindness with exceptional meticulousness. Richardson quoted long passages of Milton's letter to his German friend, Peter Heimbach, wherein Milton described the symptoms of his eye disease.[683] In his psychological approach Richardson made Milton's blindness responsible for the poet's rather unpleasant character traits and demeanour, such as the treatment of his daughters. On the other hand Richardson, like many contemporaries, believed that physical blindness leads to intellectual insight and wisdom. "In That Case", Richardson explained, "the Thoughts may be More Collected, Intense and Fixt than when a Multiplicity and Variety of Objects call them off, or Divide their Powers. 'tis a Common Observation that a Loss of Defect in One Faculty is Compensated with Advantages to the rest."[684] Richardson believed the sublimity of *Paradise Lost* was but the result of the poet's blindness. "I rather think", says Richardson, "that we owe some of the most Sublime Beauties of the Poem to That Circumstance."[685] This circumstance, the poet's blindness, was of course another aspect that brought Milton close to Homer,[686] an aspect that is equally illustrated in Richardson's portraits of the poet as English Homer.

The portrait Richardson paints of Milton in his biographical account is that of a writer of genius touched by the divine, but still human; a man who professed to moral principles of liberty and responsibility, but who was fully aware of the limits of "Masculine Judgment"[687], the instability and relativism of all human thinking presuppositions. Yet Richardson also believed that Milton went further than any other human in his search for "truth." "Above all his Mind Shines with Noble Sentiments of Religion, and Piety", Richardson observed, and emphasised that "Lastly it is Truly Poetical: Great, Strong, Elegant, and Sublime; it Raises and Beautifies all its Objects as much as Humanity Can, and Where that Fails, has gone Farther than Any Other Humane Intellect Ever Attain'd to."[688] Milton communicated this search for universal truth to mankind by means of his powerful poetical imagination. *Paradise Lost* consequently became a poetical effort of human consciousness.[689]

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[682] Richardson 1734, cxxiii.
[683] Richardson 1734, cxxviii.
[684] Richardson 1734, cxxiii.
[685] Richardson 1734, cxxiii.
[686] See Charles Martindale, *John Milton and the Transformation of the Ancient Epic*, London & Sydney 1986, 64ff.
[687] Richardson 1734, lxvii.
[688] Richardson 1734, lxvii.
[689] See Andre L. Welburn, *The Truth of Imagination. An Introduction to Visionary Poetry*, Oxford 1989, 3f.

'Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost'

Right from the start, in January 1734, the publication of Richardson's *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* was greeted by a variety of mocking commentaries. One of the most disdainful opinions was expressed by the antiquary William Stukeley (1687–1765) who assessed *Explanatory Notes* "a heap of wretched sensless impertinences and more sensless vanity I never before saw together."[690] These attitudes were particularly provoked by Richardson's peculiar style of writing and idiosyncratic self-praise of his and his son's editorial capacities. His son, unlike himself, knew Greek and Latin, and substantially contributed to the notes and remarks. Richardson therefore wanted *Explanatory Notes* to be understood as an erudite product of the intellectual collaboration with his son. "When therefore," Richardson explained, "I, in my Own Person talk of Things which in my Separate Capacity I am known to be a Stranger to, let Me be Understood as the Complicated *Richardson.*"[691] Not even Alexander Pope, who participated in the concept of *Explanatory Notes* and looked over the "notes"[692], could abstain from teasing Richardson's peculiar pomposity. Shortly after the publication of *Explanatory Notes,* Richardson received some lines Pope composed, pretending to be by Milton, with the hint that he seemed to have neglected these for his publication.[693] However, these anecdotes tell us that Richardson took his commentaries on *Paradise Lost* very seriously.

Having been an enthusiast reader of Milton's masterpiece since the late 1680s, Richardson began apparently only in the early 1730s to work systematically on Milton's biography and the commentaries on *Paradise Lost.* About this time the poem became a favoured subject for debate in Richardson's letters to his friend Ralph Palmer (fig. 23).[694] In April 1731 Richardson wrote Palmer a letter completely dedicated to a thorough discourse on the first line of the third book of *Paradise Lost,* "Hail Holy Light, offspring of Heaven, firstborn."[695] In a letter dated two weeks later, Richardson continued the debate on the poem's three kinds of light, an aspect he also discussed at length in *Explanatory Notes.*[696] Richardson most likely also conversed on *Paradise Lost* with his learned and literate friends in London such as Alexander Pope[697], William Cheselden,

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690 Quoted in Whitley 1928, I, 99.
691 Richardson 1734, cxli.
692 See *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 231, 240, 269, 326f, and 330f.
693 *Pope's Correspondence*, IV, 80. See also Wimsatt 1965, 141.
694 See Gibson-Wood, 2000, 109.
695 See Gibson-Wood, 2000, 113 and 246, note 39.
696 Richardson, *Letter to Palmer,* May 1731, fol. 2f. See also Richardson 1734, 8ff.
697 See *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 331.

Richard Mead, Martin Folkes, the Reverend Samuel Say, Thomas Birch, and poet Paolo Antonio Rolli (1687–1765), who worked on an Italian translation of the poem between 1729 and 1735.[698] Richardson executed portrait drawings of all these gentlemen during the 1730s.[699]

In about 1738 Samuel Say wrote two essays on the metre in *Paradise Lost* "at the Request of Mr. Richardson the Painter, who was pleased with Mr. Say's uncommon Way of Thinking."[700] The essays were posthumously published in Say's *Poems on Several Occasions* in 1745 accompanied by a "fine Head of Milton" by Richardson "who lent the Plate ech'd by himself, to be used on this Occasion" (fig. 162).[701] In 1738 the antiquary Thomas Birch published an edition of Milton's prose works accompanied by a comprehensive biography of the poet, largely indebted to Richardson's work from which it quotes large passages.[702] To this edition was prefixed "a curious Head of the Author", as Birch explained in *Advertisement to the Reader,* which was "engraven by Mr. Vertue from a Drawing by Mr. Richardson, after a Bust done for the Author [Milton] in his Lifetime" (fig. 164).[703] Evidently, Vertue used one of Richardson's studies after the bust attributed to Edward Pierce II as a model for his own engraving.

Judging from these projects Richardson intensely discussed Milton's masterpiece with close acquaintances and friends. In a letter to Palmer, written in March 1732, Richardson sketched for the first time his scheme for *Explanatory Notes.* At least to some extent he understood the publication as a critical response to Richard Bentley's 1732 "corrected" edition of *Paradise Lost.*[704]

> But Bentley has cut me out a deal of Work, Not to Answer his Blunders, Conundrums, & Impertinences, but to read Milton with more Care & Attention than I have Yet done, tho I have been almost an Adorer of him for above Forty Years, I discover Faulty, or Incorrectnesses I had rather call 'em, w^ch^ I had not observed till Now, but withal Beautyes & Those (I need not tell you) are a New Acquisition of Delight. My Son is upon ye Same Design. Wee work separately & when we have done shall confer Notes & blend them together w^ch^ wee hope will set

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[698] John Milton, *Del Paradiso Perduto, translated by Paolo Rolli,* London 1729-1735 (2 vols). See also George Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London, 1715–1744,* The Hague & Paris 1967, 168ff.

[699] See chapter II.

[700] See Say 1745, iv.

[701] Say 1745, xv.

[702] John Milton, *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political and Miscellaneous Works,* London 1738, I, lviii ff.

[703] Milton 1738, I, advertisement.

[704] Bentley's "corrected" edition of *Paradise Lost,* published under the title *Dr. Bentley's Emendations on the Twelve Books of Paradise Lost,* London 1732, provoked a considerable number of critical essays and commentaries, such as Zachary Pearce's *Review of the Text of Milton's Paradise Lost, in which the Chief of Dr. Bentley's Emendations Are Consider'd [...],* London 1732 and John Milton, *Paradise Lost. A Poem, in twelve books. The Author John Milton. A New Edition, with Notes of Various Authors, by Thomas Newton, D.D.,* London 1749 (2 vols), I, preface, without pagination. See also Timothy C. Miller (ed.), *The Critical Response to John Milton's Paradise Lost,* Westport & London 1997, 53ff, and Walsh 1997, 62ff.

> That Noble poem in a Clearer Light than it has Yet been Seen in. Whether the World will ever see it or No is very Uncertain.[705]

Unlike Bentley, whose emendations and corrections are the result of a severe distrust in the authority of the 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost,* Richardson regarded this edition as "Finish'd, the Genuine, the Uncorrupted Work of *John Milton.*"[706] Richardson harshly reprimanded Bentley's edition and claimed to undertake a "Restoration of the Genuine Milton." It is nonetheless Bentley's edition that called Richardson's particular attention to the subtleties of Milton's language.[707]

Like other commentators on *Paradise Lost,* Richardson meticulously collected notes made by previous critics for his own publication. Patrick Hume, whose annotations Thomas Newton noted in 1749, laid the foundation of the interpretation of the poem "but among a load of rubbish"[708], Richardson acknowledged as the "Principal" of previous commentators.[709] Richardson's son apparently not only made use of Hume's notes but also commented on them extensively. Richardson Junior, according to Newton, "had a very copious collection of fine passages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton had profited [...] which is written in the margin and between the lines of Mr. Hume's annotations."[710] Richardson is largely indebted to Hume's work, which treated Milton like a classic author.[711] Like Hume, Richardson attached great importance to the influence of both the Scripture and ancient writing on *Paradise Lost.*[712] But while Hume was more interested in the narrative of the poem, Richardson developed a particular interest in Milton's imagery and poetical style. Judging from the detailed remarks on Milton's peculiarities of spelling, Richardson Junior also went to the trouble of collating several editions of *Paradise Lost.*[713]

Nevertheless, Richardson's *Explanatory Notes* is anything but a coherent interpretation of *Paradise Lost,* a matter of fact already stated by Newton in the preface to

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[705] Richardson, *Letter to Palmer,* 13 März 1732, fol. 1f.

[706] See Richardson 1734, cxxxviii, and Milton 1749, II, 204: Newton in turn criticised this blind trust in the 1674 edition: "And as to the matter of printing, it must be said that of Milton's two editions the first is in general more correct than the second, tho Mr. Richardson and other have cried up the second as the only genuin and standard edition."

[707] Even Pope, who repeatedly satirised Richard Bentley had, in fact, "approved of more than really merits approbation", according to Thomas Newton, who examined Pope's copy of Bentley's *Paradise Lost* in 1749. See Milton 1749, preface, without pagination. See also Briggs 1979, 128.

[708] See Milton 1749, preface, without pagination, and John Milton, *The Poetical Works [...] Together with Explanatory Notes on each Book of the Paradise Lost, and a Table never before Printed. (by P.H. i.e. Patrick Hume),* London 1695. For Newton's *Variorum* see furthermore Walsh 1997, 94-110.

[709] Richardson 1734, cxvii.

[710] Milton 1749, I, preface, without pagination.

[711] Oras 1931, 5ff.

[712] See Oras 1931, 8–9.

[713] See Richardson 1734, cxxxi ff.

his 1749 edition of the poem. Comparable to the wide ranging quality of Richardson's portraits, Newton observed, in the painter's writing there "are strange inequalities; there is often better sense than grammar or English; and among several things odd and unaccountable, he sometimes hits the true meaning of the author surprisingly, and explains it properly."[714] Richardson's most ingenious observations are widely dispersed throughout five hundred pages of annotations and two hundred pages of "highly elliptical and often eccentric musings on Milton's mind, life, and poetry."[715] As the biography, the more comprehensive explanatory notes are written in the manner of a discursive essay, in which Richardson gives free rein to his thoughts. In contrast to previous annotators, particularly the scholarly approaches of Bentley and Pearce, Richardson's work appears to be more an expression of a personal creed.[716] To a certain extent Richardson's *Explanatory Notes* seems to record his personal experiences throughout his continual readings of the poem. But within these observations and reflections Richardson presents an original interpretation of *Paradise Lost.*

Richardson's explanations reveal a remarkable alertness to Milton's artistic design, his linguistic richness, density of suggestion, and economy of expression,[717] an alertness that Richardson showed equally in his judgments on visual arts. Comparable to his attentiveness toward peculiarities of old master drawings, Richardson is sensitive to the manifold and ambiguous implications of Milton's poetic language throughout. Oras observed it was Richardson's intense preoccupation with visual arts that helped him "to appreciate some features of Milton which were not always intelligible to professional classical scholars."[718] This exhibited particular insight into the processes of artistic creation, which Richardson experienced himself as a painter and which he got to know in the course of his friendship with contemporary poets such as John Gay, Alexander Pope, and Matthew Prior. The originality of Milton's imagination therefore played as great a part as the spirituality of the subject in Richardson's discourse on *Paradise Lost.*

Explanatory Notes incorporates a strong educational impetus. As with his essays on connoisseurship, Richardson did not write *Explanatory Notes* for learned scholars but for the general reader. It is therefore not surprising he literally associated the reader of Milton with the "*Connoisseur* in Painting."[719] He argued that it is not perfect learning—this alone

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[714] Milton 1749, I, preface, without pagination.
[715] Moore 1990, 136.
[716] See Oras 1931, 100.
[717] See Walsh 1997, 87.
[718] Oras 1931, 101.
[719] Richardson 1734, clxv.

might even be a hindrance—but good sense, the capacity of rational judgment, which is requisite for an appropriate understanding of *Paradise Lost*. Richardson endeavoured to explain the verse of *Paradise Lost* true to Milton's intended meaning: "we have had But One Single Point in View", Richardson clarified in the introduction, "to give Our Author's Sense, as we Conceiv'd He would have Explain'd Himself, had he risen from his Urn and Dictated to Us."[720] By paraphrasing Milton's lines he tried to disclose the verbal logic of the poem. Furthermore, he provided the reader with additional information concerning the historical, biblical, and etymological implications of Milton's language, and frequently supported his explanations by referring to passages within the poem or analogies in classical or biblical texts.[721] By Richardson's time it was commonly held that Milton used words of the learned languages in their original meaning. Hume, Bentley, and Pearce provided comprehensive studies of Milton's use of classical vocabulary in their annotations.[722] Noteworthy are Richardson's observations concerning Milton's borrowing from Italian. It is very likely that Richardson discussed these linguistic aspects with his friend Paolo Rolli, the Italian translator of *Paradise Lost*. On the whole, Richardson seeks to provide the general reader with all kinds of useful information to make him aware of the poetic beauties and genuine veracities of Milton's poetry. Since Milton is "a Notable Oeconomist of his Words", a reader of *Paradise Lost* must give due regard to every line, to every word, and even the silences as Richardson explained in the introduction:

> a Reader of *Milton* must be Always at his Duty; he is surrounded with Sense, it rises in every Line, every Word is to the Purpose [...] [Milton] Expresses himself So Concisely, Employs Words so Sparingly, that whoever will Possess His Ideas must Dig for them, and Oftentimes pretty far below the Surface [...] if a Good Writer is not Understood 'tis because his Reader is Unacquainted with, or Incapable of the Subject, or will not Submit to do the Duty of a Reader, which is to Attend Carefully to what he Reads.[723]

Throughout *Explanatory Notes* Richardson showed a distinct sensitivity for the sound of Milton's verses. In contrast to his predecessors he does not simply apply theoretical ideas but relies on his ear, much as he depends on his eyes when judging works of art.[724] Richardson's interest in the sound of the English language is also evident in his eccentric use of capital letters in *Explanatory Notes*: "We have us'd Great Letters, wherever any particular Weight is to be laid on the Word."[725] Richardson was aware that

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[720] Richardson 1734, clxxii.
[721] Walsh 1997, 88f.
[722] See Walsh 1997, 78.
[723] Richardson 1734, cxliv–cxlv.
[724] See Oras 1931, 127.
[725] Richardson 1734, clxxiv.

Milton's poem demands a consciously analytical reading; otherwise the reader would be lost in the vastness of the linguistic maze of *Paradise Lost.*

At the same time, Richardson made clear that the explanatory notes can only assist the reader. He clearly insisted a reader must use his own imagination to complete his reading, comparable to a spectator of pictures.[726] Richardson represented *Paradise Lost* as a permanently open-ended poem. "When the Imagination is Rais'd as much as Possible," Richardson explained, "let it still know More is Un-conceiv'd; Let the Lark Sing after he is Lost in the Air."[727] *Paradise Lost* is not set passively as finished picture before the reader's understanding, he must actively add to it.[728] Richardson strongly criticised scholars who did read *Paradise Lost* "as an Act of Parliament, or a Mathematical Dissertation."[729] He was one of the earliest commentators who realised that the dialectic nature of *Paradise Lost* has an immediate influence on the reader. The poem's main subject, the human liberty of choice, literally also became the reader's duty.[730] Therefore Richardson encouraged the reader to make the effort to get actively involved in the sublimities of *Paradise Lost.* This effort, Richardson maintained, will be rewarded not only with the most sublime ideas by which "the Mind of the Reader is Tempered, and Prepar'd, by Pleasure, 'tis Drawn, and Allured, 'tis Awaken'd and Invigorated", but furthermore with self-knowledge since the poem is concerned with the very emancipation of mankind:[731]

> what does the War of *Troy*, or the Original of the *Roman* Name, say it was That of *Britain*, Concern You and Me? The Original of Things, the First Happy, but Precarious condition of Mankind, his Deviation from Rectitude, his Lost State, his Restoration to the Favour of God by Repentance, and Imputed Righteousness ... These Concern Us All Equally, and Equally with our First Parents, whose Story, and That of the Whole Church of God, this Poem sets before us ... Whereas Whoever Profits, as he May, by This Poem will, as *Adam* in the Garden, Enjoy the Pleasures of Sense to the Utmost, with Temperance, and Purity of Heart, the Truest and Fullest Enjoyment of them; and will Moreover perceive his Happiness is Establish'd upon a Better Foundation than That of his Own Impeccability, and Thus possess a Paradise Within Far more Happy than that of Eden.[732]

Richardson sensed the immediate relevance of the poem's content for the reader. He believed the existence of any human forms a sequel to the poem's content. Like Adam and Eve he is free to choose good and evil and has to cope with the effects of his

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[726] See Richardson 1715, 171. "The Painter must shew what he aims at, he must give him that sees the Picture all the Assistance he can, and then leave him to supply the rest in his own Imagination."
[727] Richardson 1734, 41.
[728] See Briggs 1979, 121ff.
[729] Richardson 1734, clxxiii.
[730] See Fish 1997, 208ff. Fish's analysis of the role of the reader in *Paradise Lost* is largely based on Richardson's *Explanatory Notes.*
[731] See Fish 1997, 54f.
[732] Richardson 1734, clxi–clxii.

choice. This effect, Richardson believed, is largely dependent upon Milton's sublime imagery. *Paradise Lost* evokes visual sensations directly linked to the subjective state of mind and emotion, as if the eyes have direct access to the affective side of the readers mind.

Comparable to Addison, who emphasised the visual power of Milton's imagination by describing *Paradise Lost* as a series of great, uncommon, and beautiful landscapes in his *Pleasures of Imagination* (1712)[733], Richardson transferred the poem into a gallery of historical pictures. Throughout the notes Richardson interprets the poem as a series of pictures. "What a surprizing picture is given Here!" Richardson observed regarding Milton's image of "*the Gate with Dreadfull Faces Throng'd and Fierie Armes*" (xii, 643), "It strikes the imagination Nobly."[734] Richardson even added an appendix listing the "Pictures" of *Paradise Lost,* beginning with "the World rising out of Chaos" and ending with "*Adam* and *Eve* Forsaking Paradise Led by the Angel. The Dreadfull Faces of the Angel-Guards, &c. and Afterwards the Comforted Pair Wandring by Themselves through *Eden.*"[735] Affecting the reader's imagination to an extremely high degree, Richardson had to admit that Milton's imagery surpasses the visual arts, even Raphael's works. He deeply regrets, for example, that Raphael had not attempted to paint the "Filial Divinity" of God's son as represented by Milton.[736] And concerning the portrayal of Satan, Richardson laments that Milton did not paint what he expressed poetically: "No Man has Ever Thought in This, (as in Other Respects) like Milton. O that he had Painted! and as he Conceiv'd!"[737] Thus, Richardson reveals himself as one of the first commentators who, at length, celebrated the suggestive qualities of Milton's language and the visual side of *Paradise Lost.*[738]

However, many eighteenth-century commentators deemed the very richness of Milton's imagery, in particular the supernatural worlds such as the War in Heaven, to be either the outcome of bad taste or, more seriously, a real threat to Christian faith.[739] One of the earliest statements of this kind was Sir Samuel Morland's objection in 1695 that *Paradise Lost* was but "a jest with God's World." Curiously enough he considered Milton's poetical ideas, particularly the Battle of the Angels, to be much fitter for "Painters who,

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[733] *Spectator*, No. 418. See Moore 1990, 7–12.
[734] Richardson 1734, 534.
[735] Richardson 1734, 544f.
[736] Richardson 1734, 100.
[737] Richardson 1734, 40. See also Moore 1990, 103.
[738] See Briggs 1979, 115–130.
[739] See Roland Mushat Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts. Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems*, New Jersey 1978, 9ff.

when they have got to the top of their Parnassus, frame to themselves Ideas of what chimeras or goblins they please."[740] Morland holds the opinion that Milton's visual imagery discredited the vital dualism of good and evil, of light and darkness. About half a century later, Samuel Johnson resumed Morland's criticism in a more sophisticated way observing that Milton's description of the War in Heaven leads to a "confusion of spirit and matter on the whole: [...] His infernal and celestial powers are sometimes pure spirit and sometimes animated body."[741] What Johnson accuses Milton of is taking the poetical freedom to describe angels, which are spiritual in their essence, like fully armoured warriors. Richardson, on the contrary, was particularly enthused by Milton's pictorial descriptions of the supernatural worlds. Referring to the War in Heaven, Richardson observed, "Here will be seen a Battle-Picture, Such as No Pen Before, nor any Pencil has shown to the World."[742]After describing Milton's picture of battle superior to Homer's and judging it to be "More Amazingly Sublime", Richardson states that this poetical image conveys "Such Conceptions of Almighty Power, of the Horrors of Transgression, of the Vast Capacity of the Human Mind as will Better and Delight his Own for Ever After."[743]

As Richardson acknowledged Milton's visual imagery and its effects on the reader to be unique, he accepts the poetical structure of *Paradise Lost* as exceptional, for not many poets were successful in "justify[ing] the ways of God to men" poetically.[744] Unlike other commentators, such as Addison who endeavoured to read *Paradise Lost* according to the established rules of epic poetry, Richardson acknowledged the poem as a piece of work that is "Purely Original"[745] and simply cannot be categorised as a specific genre and subsumed to an established body of rules. This view enabled Richardson both to interpret the poem distinctly and to acknowledge Milton's outstanding genius as a writer.

'Mediatorial Sweetness and Sublimities'

Many early commentators of *Paradise Lost* laboured with the definition of the poem's genre because of its poetical unconventionalities. Its uncommon mixture of human, infernal, and celestial characters and unusual combination of landscapes of heaven, hell,

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[740] Sir Samuel Morland, *The Urim of Conscience*, London 1695, 13f. Quoted in Frye 1978, 11.
[741] Johnson 1780–81, I, 222.
[742] Richardson 1734, 258.
[743] Richardson 1734, 259.
[744] Milton's *Paradise Lost*, book I, l. 26, in: *Milton's Poems*, 121.
[745] Richardson 1734, xiv.

earth, and chaos could not easily be subsumed to one particular genre.[746] Cautious characterisations of the poem as sublime epic, beautiful sublime, or divine poem reveal the literary critics' dilemma.[747] As their deep interest in aesthetic rules made eighteenth-century critics particularly aware of the process by which genres were transformed, they fully realised the problematic relation between form and content in *Paradise Lost.*[748] On the other hand, contemporary readers and critics were most fascinated exactly by those unconventionalities defying the classical theories of epic poetry.

Addison's essays on *Paradise Lost* in the *Spectator* of 1711, which substantially contributed to the poem's publicity, may serve as an example to illustrate this difficulty.[749] Addison endeavoured to examine *Paradise Lost* "by the Rules of Epic poetry."[750] In following Aristotelian rules, as interpreted by the French neo-classical school[751], he studied *Paradise Lost* as an *Epopea,* a narrative written in a high style, discussing the illustrious action of a human hero and kindling "Love of heroic Virtue" in the reader's mind.[752] Therefore Addison had to identify a human action in *Paradise Lost* suiting the strict structural requirements of the heroic genre: unity of action, unity of place, and unity of character. Addison declared Adam and Eve the principal actors, surrounded by a large number of "machining persons", the fallen angels, the Messiah, and the Almighty. The "Fall of Man" became the principal action. To the question whether the history is probable or not, he answered that it is probable because its contents is not only credible but composed of "actual points of faith."[753] It is unified, for the main episodes—the fall of the angel and the creation of the world—are subsidiary to the principal action—the fall of Adam and Eve. Consequently, Addison supposed book ten to be the "last Act of a well written Tragedy", and believed that books eleven and twelve are expedients to "cure" a defect in the fable; a fable telling of a fall from happiness is "not so proper for an Heroic Poem."[754] Thus, *Paradise Lost* emerged as a partly defective but tragic epic from Addison's point of view; it celebrates the action of human characters. It is one complete

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[746] See John T. Shawcross, 'The Style and Genre of Paradise Lost', in: *New Essays on Paradise Lost,* ed. by Thomas Kranidas, Berkeley 1969, 15–33. See also John T. Shawcross 1995, II, 41ff.
[747] Moore 1990, 13f.
[748] See Howard D. Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue. The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian,* Cambridge 1993, 114ff.
[749] *Spectator* No. 267ff. As early as 1719, Addison's essays on *Paradise Lost* were separately published under the title *Notes upon the Twelve Books of Paradise Lost. Collected from the Spectator. Written by Mr. Addison,* London 1719.
[750] *Spectator* No. 267. See Moore 1990, 9ff.
[751] See particularly Nicolas Boileau, *Oeuvres Diverses [...] avec le Traité du Sublime,* Paris 1674. See also Gordon Pocock, *Boileau and the Nature of Neo-classicism,* Cambridge 1980.
[752] *Spectator,* No. 267.
[753] *Spectator,* No. 315.
[754] *Spectator,* No. 357.

and unified action, but wanting in its unhappy ending.[755] Because of these structural failings Milton's poetic genius remained second to Homer's in Addison's view. At the same time Addison suggested that *Paradise Lost* could be called a "divine poem" beyond any epic rules because of its account of the Creation.[756] In the essay on the *Pleasures of Imagination* (1712) Addison conceived *Paradise Lost* as an aesthetic matrix of great, uncommon, sublime landscapes and characters into which the human epic is merely incorporated.[757] Thus, on one hand Addison attempted to prove episode by episode that *Paradise Lost* is a heroic poem; on the other hand he expressed the greatest admiration for the uncommon and sublime scenes and characters that at least correspond to his classical theory of the epic genre.

Richardson's answer to the question of genre of *Paradise Lost* is astonishingly simple. Toward the end of his biographical account of Milton, Richardson stated that *Paradise Lost* could not be categorised among canonical rules. It was a new kind of genre.

> If the Sublimity and Peculiarity of the Matter of this Poem, if its Superiority in That Respect has rais'd it above Some of the Rules given by *Aristotle*, or Whatever Other Criticks, and Gather'd From, or Founded on the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, or *Aeneid*, it has Distinguished it to a greater Glory; 'tis not only an Heroic Poem, but the Most So that Ever was Wrote. *Milton* did not despise rules, Such as were Built upon Reason, So far as those Establish'd Reach'd; but as his Free and Exalted Genius Aspir'd Beyond what has Yet been Attempted in the Choice of his Subject, Himself was his Own Rule when in Heights where None had gone before, and Higher than Which None Can Ever go.[758]

Unlike Addison, who considered Milton as a learned genius subordinate to epic rules, Richardson clearly presented an antipodal view. In addition to Milton's individual genius, the poem's content, which Richardson identified with the history of humankind, essentially contributed to the sublime nature of *Paradise Lost*. In maintaining that Milton "was his Own Rule", Richardson liberated the author from the constraints of conventions and norms and elevated him to an authority in his own right. Thus, Richardson deviated from Addison's classical notion of Milton as a learned genius.[759] Rather, he anticipated Edward Young's (1683–1765) notion of original genius as divine inspiration liberated of any body of rules. In *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), Young claimed that "Genius is from Heaven; Learning from Man."[760] Equally,

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[755] See Moore 1990, 8ff.

[756] *Spectator*, No. 267.

[757] *Spectator*, No. 417 and 418. See Moore 1990, 11f.

[758] Richardson 1734, cxlvii.

[759] *Spectator*, No. 160

[760] Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, London 1759, 36; See also Samuel Holt Monk, *The Sublime. A Study of Critical Theories in 18th-Century England*, New York 1935, 101ff.; Rudolf Wittkower, 'Imitation, Eclecticism and Genius' in: *Aspect of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Earl Reeves Wassermann, Baltimore 1967, 143–161, esp. 157f.

Richardson maintained that "Milton is Writing a Poem not a System of Divinity or Philosophy, as Now Understood, Especially the Latter, though he has Always the Scripture in View, his Muse is divine, but she is Also a Muse. He is consistent in his System, but 'tis a Poetical One."[761] In contrast to Addison, Richardson portrayed Milton as a writer of genius who even surpassed Virgil and Homer. This idea is also manifest in Richardson's drawn and etched portraits of Milton as "an Ancient, but born two Thousand Years after His Time" (fig. 155, 156 and 162).[762]

Delineating *Paradise Lost* as a poem transgressing the established rules of the epic genre, Richardson identified two major episodes. "These are the two Great Noble Subjects of this Noble Episode", Richardson observed referring to the "Half yet remaines Unsung" line in book seven, "the Warr in Heaven and the New Creation."[763] Thus, Richardson interpreted God's creation as the central metaphor of the second half of *Paradise Lost*, culminating in the creation of Adam and Eve as the first representatives of humankind. All the infernal and celestial beings, Richardson maintained, are only introduced in order to:

> conduct Man through Variety of Conditions of Happiness and Distress, All Terminating in the Utmost Good. from a State of Precarious Innocence, through Temptation, Sin, Repentance, and finally a Secure Recumbency Upon, and Interest In the Supream Good by the Mediation of his Son.[764]

In acknowledging Adam and Eve as the principal actors of *Paradise Lost,* Richardson followed Addison's interpretation. But in contrast to Addison, who read the fall of Adam and Eve as the "last Act of a well written Tragedy", and consequently deemed books eleven and twelve to be only expedients to mitigate the tragic element of the poem[765], Richardson interpreted their fall as an episode that marks the commencement of a "Happier State of Man."[766]

> Man endow'd with Fallible reason Deviates from Perfect Rectitude; but the *Wisdom*, the *Word*, the *Son* of God Mediates in His Behalf, and His Perfect Righteousness Supplys Man's Defect, Acquitting Him of Guilt. So that as Before he was Perfect in Native Innocence he is Now So in Righteousness Imputed, but upon a Secure Foundation, Fallible Before. This, as it is the Sum and Scope of Christian Religion, 'tis the Business of This, and the following Book to Explain and Inculate; and withal to give the History of the Church of God from the Defections to the End of Ages. Thus the Subject still Rises as the Poem draws to a Close. Paradise is Lost, but a

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761 Richardson 1734, 293.
762 Richardson 1734, cxlvii.
763 Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 1674, book VII, l. 21; Richardson 1734, 289. This interpretation was exactly adopted by Newton in his edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1749, II, 7.
764 Richardson 1734, cxlvi.
765 *Spectator* No. 357.
766 Richardson 1734, 477.

> Happier State of Man is the Consequence; and built on an Immoveable, instead of a Precarious Foundation.[767]

This passage contains not only a summary of Richardson's humanist reading of the poem focusing on man as historical being. Rather, it conveys the artist's philosophical maxims of mankind. Richardson contended the state of mankind in Paradise is perfect, but innocent and inexperienced. Only the "Fall"—this moment of transition—makes human progress in terms of self-creation feasible.[768] Unlike many critics of Milton, Richardson described the fall not as a predestined incident but as an episode that was only possible because Adam and Eve "have been Created Free", and were thus capable to choose freely between obedience to God and disobedience. "Predestination or Foreknowledge had no Influence", remarked Richardson, "Themselves Decreed their Fall, not God."[769] Thus, Richardson essentially believed the fall is a necessary episode to raise mankind's self-awareness and autonomy, to make humans "Authors to themselves in all/Both what they judge and what they choose."[770] With respect to these lines, Richardson explained that Milton conceived divine prescience as being consistent with human liberty.[771]

In Richardson's view the "New Creation", beginning with the fall of mankind, is a far more sublime subject than God's original creation of the world. "So that what *Milton* says at the Beginning of his Seventh Book, *Half yet remains Unsung,* is Applicable Here, and 'tis the Better the Nobler Half. What we have Yet Seen is but a Kind of Shadow, Typical, Prophetical of what Remains."[772] Books one to eight are consequently mere shadows of a sublime truth that begins to unfold in books nine to twelve.[773] Whereas Addison considered books eleven and twelve as expedients to "cure" a defect in the fable, and critic John Dennis (1657–1734) thought books one to eight—"the wondrous Works of God"—the most sublime while books nine to twelve only represent the "Works of Corrupted Man"[774], Richardson deemed the Second Creation—mankind's self-creation and intellectual emancipation—a more wondrous work than the first creation, for they reveal both God's grace and the truth and grandeur of human nature. With reference to the expulsion, Richardson observed, "This last Circumstance brings our Progenitors into the Condition, in Which we Are, on *Even Ground* with Us, Wandring in Doubt and

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[767] Richardson 1734, 477.
[768] See John Martin Evans, *The Miltonic Moment,* Lexington 1998, introduction.
[769] Richardson 1734 103.
[770] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 1674, book III, l. 122–3.
[771] Richardson 1734, 104.
[772] Richardson 1734, 384f. See Moore 1990, 154 and Briggs 1979, 115ff.
[773] See also Moore 1990, 153.
[774] John Dennis, *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry,* London 1704, 54.

Uncertainty; in Sorrow, but Recompens'd with Comfort and Joy, always under the Unsleeping Eye of Divine, Paternal Goodness."[775] Richardson was convinced he interpreted the last four books particularly in the sense of Milton. "We have Consider'd his Opinions and Turn of Mind, as particularly in our Explanation of the Four Last Books."[776]

Guided by an extraordinary interest in individuality, Richardson was the first commentator to deal in detail with Milton's poetical characters. Richardson attached great importance to translating Milton's rather suggestive description of the characters into realistic portrayals. Referring to Milton's poetic descriptions of Adam as "the Goodlyest Man of Men since borne His Sons" and Eve as "the Fairest of her Daughters"[777], Richardson explained:

> Though the Words are very Intelligible, This place more needs to be Expounded than most of the Difficult places in Milton. to Understand an Author is to have a Clear and Distinct Idea, the Same that Author Has, and would communicate. What Images were Intended to be set before Us? 'their Stature was Tall (v. 288) not Equally must be suppos'd: He had Bright Black Hair, She fair Yellow, Both Curl'd, tho' His, parted-A-top, hung not below his Shoulders, Her's to her Waist; and let us Suppose it in Loose Natural Wavings playing about her Face, &c. their Skins must be Imagin'd Such as is natural with their Several Colour'd Hair, His Brown, Ruddy and Manly, but Clear,not Thick: or call it Warm and Transparent; Hers the Loveliest Carnation that Can be Imagin'd, a Bright, Soft, Pearly White, Vary'd in proper Degrees with Blewish Rosy Tincts, the Finest Ivory stain'd with the juice of Pomgranate—No; More Beautiful by far; Cool but not Cold, Warm but far from Hot. their Complexion cannot be well Conceiv'd but with *Pittoresque* Eyes; Neither can their Forms by one who is not Acquainted with Antique Sculpture, nor by Him that is Intirely; the *Apollo* of the *Belvedere,* the *Antinous,* the *Meleager,* the *Venus of Medicis,* with the Body, and part of the Thighs of a more Ancient, and more Exquisite Statue of that Goddess (judg'd to be of *Phidias*) in the Collection of the Great Duke &c. These will help our Imagination as to their Limbs, and their Harmony One with Another, but let us still Imagine the First of the Humane Race were not only of more Excellent Forms than any Since, but more Excellent than any of the Descendants, even the Best of the *Greek* Sculptors, were able to Represent [...]
>
> A Greater Difficulty is still behind, and That is the Features, but More the General Airs of the Faces of our Progenitors: Let us try what Assistance we can have from the Antique; but They had no such Characters. Letus try *Rafaelle, Guido, Coreggio, Parmeggiano,* or whatever Other Modern has Excell'd in the Beauty and Airs of Heads; and then a Lively *Pittoresque* Imagination with Poetical Good Sense will furnish the Possessors of These Qualities with Something for their Own Use Only, but beyond what they Can possibly Communicate. Others must be contented with what they can get. Whatever these Images are they should be before us whenever Milton introduces these Prime of Humane Race, these Prototypes, these Originals, of God's Own Hand.[778]

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[775] Richardson 1734, 535.
[776] Richardson 1734, clxxii.
[777] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 1674, book IV, l. 321-24. Richardson 1734, 155.
[778] Richardson 1734, 156–8.

This passage illustrates Richardson's remarkably pictorial or, as he called it, "pittoresque" manner of reading *Paradise Lost.* Richardson apparently noticed that any reader must possess an extraordinary power of imagination to transfer Milton's suggestive verses into tangible pictures in order to grasp the beauties and the truth of the poem. To this end, he transferred Milton's poetical descriptions into pictures, and refers to works of art as a means to visualise Milton's powerful imagery.

As important as Richardson considered it to imagine Adam and Eve pictorially, he directed the reader's attention to discern Milton's idea of God spiritually. Following Milton, who resolutely insisted upon the invisibility of God, "Author of all being,/Fountain of Light, thy self invisible"[779], Richardson delineated God as the immaterial source of light. Referring to Milton's poetical image of the Empyreum in book one,[780] Richardson elucidated "the Supreme Being [...] is Thus conceived of as of a Nature Distinct from All Others, the most Sublime Notion of Spirituality is reserved for Him, and Him only"[781] Richardson strictly prohibited his readers from imagining Milton's God as the old man as traditionally imagined by painters. He also urged his readers to imagine the Messiah—the "Express'd Image" of God—untraditionally:

> *Milton* has Suppos'd Him Visible, though not as Cloath'd with Flesh (So he appear'd not in Heaven till after the Ascension) but as Mediator. Here must be a Picture Such as we have never known Aim'd at by any Master, or so much as Thought of by Any other Writer. Here 'tis Certain we must Avoid the Traditional Likeness of what he was on Earth, or in Heaven Afterwards, we are alike to Avoid what is Usually given to God when he is Represented by Painting, though 'tis said that *the Son is the Epress'd Image of his Person,* and though *Milton* says the Father is in him *Substantially Express'd;* There should be the Paternal Majesty shining in the Filial Divinity; a Dignity and Beauty Different from the Angelic Characters, Less Youthful and More Majestic; a Mediatorial Sweetness and Sublimity. I wish Rafaelle had Attempted This and had Succeeded in it as when he has painted Christ a Child; or as a Man which he did not so frequently; That we have in the Cartons at Hampton Court in the Boat is Exquisite; a Higher Character should have been in That where he is giving the Keys to St. Peter; 'twas after the Resurrection, and doubtless This Was Fine, but 'tis Spoil'd; something more Sublime was requir'd in the Transfiguration and 'tis Divine; but Still what we are Speaking of is Vastly Beyond, and requires the Utmost Stretch of the Most Lively, Accurate, Judicious, and best Instructed Imagination; and when Such a One has done its Utmost it will have done but Little.[782]

Richardson imagined the mediator as a transcendent personality uniting God's invisible divinity with his own visible dignity and beauty. According to Richardson the mediator's sublimity literally described the transition from God's invisible power to his son's physical appearance. God's son, the mediator, constitutes a visual link between

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[779] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1674, book III, l. 374–5.
[780] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1674, book I, l. 45.
[781] Richardson 1734, 10.
[782] Richardson 1734, 100.

God's insubstantial and inconceivable light and human substantiality: He is the *'Express'd Image'* of God and literally "justifies the ways of God to men" visually.

In order to illustrate this process of visual mediation Richardson returned to Milton's sublime imagery of light, fire, and darkness. Richardson first explained Milton's "Three-fold Notion" of light: "1. Coeternal with God, 2. Flowing from him, his First Born, and 3. Created in Time (an Illustration of the Doctrines of the Orthodox, the *Arrians* and *Socinians* concerning Christ)."[783] Richardson then followed Milton's resolute insistence upon the invisibility of God, "Author of all being,/Fountain of Light, thy self invisible"[784], and explained that God is the source of an "unconceivable light", which only became visible to human beings because he conveys it to his son, the mediator. God's fire is, Richardson explains, "the Purest, the most Active, and the most approaching to Spirituality of all matter we know." This kind of insubstantial fire belongs to the "Supreme Heaven, the Heaven of Heaven; and 'twas called the *Empyreum.*"[785] To the realm of the Empyreum also belong the angels, "Spirits of an Inferior Sense, Matter the nearest approaching Spirit, but still Matter." Beneath the angels are human beings followed further down the hierarchy by animals and plants. In accord with the decrease of God's sublimity, light is fading. The last stage in the great chain of being is signified by the fallen angel's "darkness visible." According to Richardson, light or, respectively, fire visualises not only the transformation of matter into spirit but symbolises the degree of human insight into God's Creation. John Locke used a comparable simile to explain the nature of human knowledge which he conceived to be that "portion of truth" which the "eternal Father of light, and Fountain of all knowledge" communicated to mankind "within the reach of their natural faculties."[786] Unlike Locke, who perceived God as an abstract supremacy whose existence is not self evident, Richardson believed in the existence of God whose creative power is made visible to humankind by his son, the mediator.[787] God's power, as mediated by his son, is expressed in substance by Adam and Eve, the progenitors of humankind. Only in them is God's power visualised. Like many 'enlightened' thinkers, Richardson believed the natural world, including all living creatures

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[783] Richardson 1734, 98. For the Arian concept of the creation see Rumrich 1998, 75-92.
[784] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1674, book III, l. 374-5.
[785] Richardson 1734, 8.
[786] Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, IV, xix, 4.
[787] For a detailed discussion on the experiential awareness of God see William Payne Alston, *Perceiving God. The Epistemology of Religious Experience*, Ithaca 1991, esp. 102ff. For the Arian concept of God's son as a Created Being see Rumrich 1998, 75-92.

as ordered in the great chain of being, is but the discernible manifestation of God's power.[788]

In interpreting *Paradise Lost* as the progress of emancipating mankind to rational human beings, Richardson represented himself as a devotee to an enlightened concept of humanism.[789] Communicated through Milton's sublime imagery, human liberty of choice become the measure of all things. At the same time Richardson's reading of Milton's *Paradise Lost* demonstrated "the Idea of God is the Greatest Treasure of the Human Mind."[790] As for Locke and many empirically minded thinkers of his time, for Richardson, the philosophical concept of the *self* was inextricably intertwined with the idea of God.[791]

'a more Exact, and a more Just Idea of *Milton*'

Richardson published *Explanatory Notes* with the idea to give "a more Exact, and a more Just Idea of *Milton* and of *Paradise Lost.*"[792] In order to achieve this goal Richardson painstakingly collected both pictorial and written material, as did other contemporary biographers and antiquaries. By means of the material exposed, he wanted to enable his readers to judge for themselves, comparably to connoisseurs. Nevertheless Richardson's biography, as well as the portraits, is far from an unbiased and unprejudiced approach to John Milton.

What most distinguished Richardson's portrayal of Milton from that of his contemporaries was his humanist interest in Milton, the person. While he interpreted *Paradise Lost* as the emancipating progress of mankind to rational human beings, he approached Milton not simply as an extraordinary writer of genius but also as a vulnerable human being. On one hand, Richardson revered Milton as a superhuman who possessed the poetical power to "*Justifye the Wayes of God to Men* in an Epic Poem" which, in Richardson's view, required "the Utmost Stretch the Human Mind is Capable of."[793] On the other hand, he hoped to awaken the reader's sympathy for the poet's human frailties.

This approach is explicitly illustrated in Richardson's curious portrait of himself and his son described as 'The artist and His Son in the Presence of Milton', painted circa 1735

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[788] See Richardson, *Hymn to God*, 1711/12, fol. 3ff. See also Lovejoy 1993, 225ff.
[789] See Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung*, Hamburg 1998, 3ff.
[790] Richardson 1734, 102.
[791] See particularly chapter III 'An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.'
[792] Richardson 1734, i.
[793] Richardson 1734, cxii.

(fig. 165). The composition of this picture resembles a Venetian votive portrait.[794] Like supplicants reverently approaching a saint Richardson and his son paid homage to John Milton. The papers on the sill—presumably the manuscripts for *Explanatory Notes*—are presented to Milton as an offering. Milton's face, like a saint's, is illuminated by golden rays falling from the sky. In the invocation of book three of *Paradise Lost* Milton used this image so as to contrast his physical blindness with the irradiation of his mind with celestial light.

> So much the rather thou Celestial light
> Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
> Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
> Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
> Of things invisible to mortal sight.[795]

Unlike traditional votive paintings Milton is not depicted in an elevated position but on the same level as Richardson Senior and Junior so that rather looking up to him their heads tower above Milton's laureate head. As in a conventional portrait painting, physical characteristics of the individuals are taken into consideration. The composition oscillates between a votive painting and a triple portrait and humanises Milton as much as it glorifies the "author of Paradise Lost." The same ambiguity characterises Richardson's series of drawn and etched portraits of Milton. Some of the portrait drawings of Milton, in particular the crayon studies after the bust attributed to Pierce II (fig. 145–148), are as informal as some of the portrait drawings in Richardson's "Collection of the portraits of friends." By contrast, the portraits representing Milton as the English Homer (fig. 155 and 156) strongly idealise the poet as "an Ancient but born Two Thousand years after his Time."

Richardson's portraits of Milton are obviously not simply the result of the artist's intense preoccupation with the author and his oeuvre but also of a close collaboration with George Vertue. Richardson shared Vertue's particular interest in historical portraiture.[796] However, while Vertue engraved portraits professionally, Richardson copied portraits for his own pleasure.

Richardson collection of portrait drawings—incorporating portraits of the protagonists of the most turbulent years of seventeenth-century England, such as Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford (fig. 22), King Charles I (fig. 61 and 62), and the Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell (fig. 59) —give the impression that Richardson indeed endeavoured to obtain historical knowledge of these times by means

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[794] See Piper 1982, 66–9.
[795] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1674, book III, l. 51–55.
[796] See Myrone 1999, 35–49.

of copying portraits. As did Vertue, Richardson sensed the power of portraits of historical characters as a means to recreate the past pictorially: "*Painting* relates the Histories of past and present Times."[797] Vertue, for his part, deemed statues and portraits to be "silent Histories."[798] Portraits, in their view, clearly represented history.

However, in contrast to Vertue, who accepted original portraits at face value as undisputed models for engravings and reproduced these with a few alterations chiefly restricted to the decorum, Richardson approached these originals in a more artistic way. While Vertue used portraits as a graphic means to practice antiquarianism, Richardson considered historical portraits to be an imaginative art form. "To be a good face painter", Richardson observed in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), "a Degree of the Historical and the Poetical Genius is requisite."[799] A painter, says Richardson, "must raise his ideas beyond what he sees, and form a Model of Perfection in his Own Mind which is not to be found in Reality; but yet such a One as is Probable and Rational."[800]

Richardson applied these theoretical precepts not only to the process of portraying sitters alive, but also to the process of copying original portraits. Unlike Vertue's antiquarian prints rendered in line engraving, Richardson experimented with different drawing and etching techniques. Judging from his portraits of Milton, Richardson used different techniques to different ends: The chalk drawings served to preserve a first perceptive approach to the original portraits of the poet. Comparable to Richardson's drawn self-portraits, these drawings are of a very experimental character, assessing effects of light and shades while modelling the poet's features. The studies after the bust of Milton in Vertue's possession perfectly illustrate Richardson's examining approach (fig. 145–148).

The more finished plumbago drawings were no longer a means to examine the features of a person, but represented an image such as, for instance, the portrait of Milton in Cornell executed in black lead on paper (fig. 163). In these portrait drawings Richardson experiments with emblematic accessories in order to illustrate in an unmistakable way the poet's genius. These idealising tendencies also prevail in the etched versions of Milton's portraits, such as in the frontispiece to Richardson's *Explanatory Notes* (fig. 149) or to Say's essays on the metre in *Paradise Lost* (fig. 162). Eventually, Milton's character seems to be rendered by means of symbolic accessories. This aspect is

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[797] Richardson 1715, 13.
[798] George Vertue, *A Description of Four Ancient Paintings Being Historical Portraitures of Royal Branches of the Crown of England,* [London 1740], 1.
[799] Richardson 1715, 23–4.
[800] Richardson 1715, 162.

graphically explicit in a proof etching by Richardson representing Milton's head in profile together with a head of Pope and an ideal head of a poet (fig. 166). In these three studies the emblematic attire, such as the ribbon and the laurel wreath, become exchangeable means to accentuate the author's genius. Character eventually seemed to be administrated by universal icons.[801] It is, however, the sequential nature of Richardson's portrait drawings and etchings of Milton that illustrates the creative process of achieving a truly ideal image of a (historic) person. As the portrait title 'The Artist and his Son in the Presence of Milton' these portraits visualise the painter's balancing act between insipid imitation and exaggerated idealisation.

Judging from frequent references to Richardson's characterisation of Milton as "an Ancient but born two Thousand Years after his Time", contemporary and later critics and antiquaries apparently considered this to be a fitting portrayal.[802] Equally, throughout the eighteenth century, Richardson's drawn and etched versions of Milton's head were deemed among the finest images of the poet. Edmond Malone (1741–1812), the eminent Shakespeare editor, possessed a collection of portrait drawings by Richardson consisting of "two of Pope, two of Milton, one of them highly finished [...] two Shakespeare [...] one of the elder Richardson; and one of the late Dr. Birch."[803] Later these drawings belonged to Malone's friend and fellow Shakespeare editor, James Boswell Junior. The 1825 sales catalogue of Boswell's library lists "Two beautiful pencil drawings of vellum, by the elder Richardson, portraits of Milton."[804]

In contrast to Faithorne's engraving—used as frontispiece to the 1670 edition of Milton's *History of Britain* (fig. 167) and considered to be the official image of Milton because it was done with the poet's consent while he was at the height of his power[805]—Richardson's drawn and etched portraits represented a more private Milton, an aspect that both literary critics and collectors appreciated equally. While Faithorne's engraving was copied endlessly and accessible to anyone, Richardson's portraits of Milton remained a collector's item. Referring to one of his etched heads of Milton, biographer and print collector, James Granger (1723–1776), remarked that "the prints of Milton by Richardson are not common."[806]

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[801] See also Pointon 1993, 126.
[802] Richardson, 1734, cxlvii. See Birch 1753, 70 and Walpole 1786, IV, 36.
[803] James Prior, *The Life of Edmund Malone*, London 1865, 397–8, quoted in Wimsatt 1965, 149.
[804] Quoted in Marsh 1860, 38. These two drawings formed lot 3206 at the sale of Boswell's library in 1825, and were sold for nineteen shillings.
[805] John Milton, *The History of Britain*, London 1670, frontispiece. See Martin 1961, 8. See Piper 1982, 36.
[806] James Granger, *A Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution*, London, 1775 (4 vols), IV, 35.

Richardson's portraits of Milton came at a time when the poet's reputation as a national hero grew increasingly and when, accordingly, his image spread to nobleman's houses, gardens, and libraries as well as public places in the form of busts, portraits, and monuments.[807] In 1732, a bust of Milton by the Flemish sculptor Michael Rysbrack was incorporated in the Temple of Worthies at Stowe.[808] And in 1738 the Palladianist William Benson (1682–1754) erected a monument to Milton in the Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey, commissioned by Rysbrack (fig. 168). Thus, Milton eventually entered the English Parnassus.

This chapter delivers an insight into Richardson's aesthetic efforts to create an image of Milton adequate to the poet's extraordinary genius. Richardson's pictorial and biographical portrayals of Milton are inextricably linked. Both are rooted in the painter's humanist interpretation of *Paradise Lost* as the history of mankind, culminating in its intellectual emancipation. By considering the fall from Paradise as a moment of transition marking the beginning of a "Happier State of Man"[809], a condition that continues until his own time, Richardson endows Milton with a particular role in the history of mankind. In Richardson's view Milton is both author of *Paradise Lost* and subject of the process of mankind's self-creation. It is this ambiguity that fascinated Richardson and that he endeavoured to visualise in his portraits and biography of Milton.

[807] See David Piper, 'The Development of the British Literary Portrait up to Samuel Johnson', in: *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 54 (1970), 51–72, esp. 65ff.
[808] See Marjorie Isabel Webb, *Michael Rysbrack*, London 1954, 112f and Whinney 1964, 87f.
[809] Richardson 1734, 477.

VI. 'To the Concealed Author of an Essay on Man.' Richardson's portraits of Alexander Pope

When Alexander Pope anonymously published the first three epistles of *An Essay on Man* in 1733, Richardson and his son were among the few acquaintances of the poet who knew him to be the author. Richardson honoured this confidential knowledge in a poem of praise 'To the Concealed Author of an Essay on Man.'[810] Pope, on the other hand, in a 1732 letter to Richardson, referred to *Essay on Man* as "the Essay to which you are so partial."[811] In view of Richardson's poetical oeuvre, which indeed also treated many of the moral premises of Pope's *Essay on Man*, it is not surprising the painter developed a particular admiration for the poet's body of thought. Moral-philosophical ideas clearly played a significant role in the painter's friendship with the poet.

More importantly, like Richardson, Pope believed in the powerful authority of pictures both imaginative and pictorial.[812] Pope's interest in the visual arts influenced him to become an amateur student of painting early in his career.[813] He developed a particular interest in the art of portraiture. But he revealed a sincere concern for pictorial visualisation also in his translations, poems, and moral essays. In *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope,* literary critic and poet Joseph Warton (1722–1800) claimed enthusiastically that Pope was "never happier in his allusions to painting, an art he so much admired and understood."[814] Based on these mutual concerns, the poet and the painter cultivated a remarkable friendship that found its most striking expression in Richardson's sequence of drawn, painted, and etched portraits of Pope.

'Still More than Wit shall Honest Friendship shine'

"Yes Happy Man! be Evr'y honour Thine;/Still More than Wit shall Honest Friendship shine." That is the couplet written beneath an etched profile portrait of Alexander Pope made by Richardson in 1738 (fig. 169). Like many contemporaries, Richardson and Pope understood friendship not simply as an expression of personal affection and love but as a

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[810] Richardson's poem was published in the 1745 edition of Pope's *Essay on Man [...]* With notes by William Warburton, London, 1745, 9f. A slightly altered version of the poem is reprinted in Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* 1776, 262–3.

[811] *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 326.

[812] See Leopold Damrosch, *The Imaginative World of Alexander Pope,* Berkeley 1987; David B. Morris, *Alexander Pope. The Genius of Sense,* Cambridge & London 1984 and Jean Howard Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts. The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray,* Chicago & London 1958.

[813] Brownell 1978, 9ff.

[814] Joseph Warton, *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope,* London 1782, (4th edition) (2 vols), II, 187.

philosophy.[815] Under the motto "We two are a multitude" the *Spectator* described the nature of friendship as "the medicine of life." "Among the several qualifications of a good friend", the essay's author counted "constancy and faithfulness [...] the principal: to these, others have added virtue knowledge, discretion, equality in age and fortune, and as Cicero calls it, '*Morum Comitas*—a pleasantness of temper.'"[816]

To cultivate friendship became a vital issue of Pope's life,[817] and became an existential question when he observed at the age of seventeen, "that the love we bear to our friends is generally caused by our finding the same disposition in them, which we feel in our selves: This is but self-love at the bottom."[818] Unlike many contemporaries, Pope deemed friendship between men of unequal age to be quintessentially sincere. "Now, as a young man who is less acquainted with the ways of the world, has in all probability less of interest; and an old man, who may be weary of himself, less of self-love; so the friendship between them is more likely to be true, and unmixed with too much self-regard."[819]

This view might explain Pope's affection for Richardson, who was more than twenty years older than the poet. For both Pope and Richardson friendship meant a reciprocal deep affection and the desire for shared experiences. Sincerity and partiality are the most significant features of "the blaze of friendship", Richardson wrote his friend Ralph Palmer in a letter.[820] For Richardson and Pope, friendship was not simply a philosophical category discoursed in letters, it became a potent source of poetical and pictorial creativity.

It was very likely around 1714/5 that Richardson and Pope became acquainted with one another.[821] In June 1713—by that time Pope had published *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), *The Messiah* (1712), and *Windsor Forest* (1713)—he began to study painting in the

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[815] See Fenves 1998/9, 133–155 and Brean S. Hammond, *Pope and Bolingbroke. A Study of Friendship and Influence*, Columbia 1984, 11ff. See furthemore Neera Kaptar Badhwar, *Friendship. A Philosphical Reader*, Ithaca 1993.

[816] *Spectator*, No. 68.

[817] See in particular Hammond 1984, 11ff and 57ff.

[818] Pope's letter to his mentor and friend, the poet William Wycherley, of 30 April 1705 is published in Alexander Pope, *Letters of Mr. Pope, and Several of his Friends*, London 1737, 12. See also *Pope's Correspondence*, I, 8.

[819] Pope 1737, 12f.

[820] See Richardson, *Letter to Palmer*, 6 October 1735, fol. 1.

[821] It is still obscure when exactly Richardson and Pope became friends. Wimsatt takes a little-known pencil drawing by Richardson of Pope's mother inscribed on the back in the artist's hand "from a Dr: done by Candlelight ab^{t} the Year 1703", as the earliest evidence of the painter's acquaintance with the Pope family. Considering that Richardson began to copy some of his own drawn and painted portraits during the 1730s, it seems obvious that he also executed the drawing of Pope's mother in 1703. On the other hand, Richardson also made copies of drawings by other artists. Since there is no other evidence and the inscription simply says that he executed a drawing after an original done in 1703, I am inclined to think that the beginning of Richardson's friendship with Pope is postponed. See Wimsatt 1965, 175.

studio of the fashionable London face painter, Charles Jervas (c.1675–1739).[822] Jervas not only taught Pope painting but introduced him to a circle of contemporary collectors and connoisseurs. Together they visited some of the great virtuoso collections such as George Clarke's (1661–1736) collection of architectural drawings, paintings, and sculptures at Oxford and Dr. Richard Mead's "excellent Library" and collection of antiquities and paintings in Great Ormond Street.[823] During these visits, Pope most likely also became acquainted with Richardson, who by then had the reputation of a great connoisseur and collector of old master drawings.[824] That Richardson presented his *Account of some of the Statues, Bas Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy* right after its publication in 1722 as a present to Pope strengthens the assumption the poet had been familiar with Richardson's collection for some time. Pope warmly acknowledged Richardson's present in a letter of 4 November 1722. "I thank you for the agreeable present of your book, of which I can say no better than that it is worthy Mr. R. and his son,—worthy two such lovers of one another, and two such lovers of the fine arts. It will certainly be a most useful book to all such, and to me in particular a most delightful one [...]."[825]

By the time *An Account* was published in 1722, Richardson and Pope apparently were on well-established terms of friendship. A note from Pope to Richardson of 1722, in which the poet invited their mutual friend, physician William Cheselden, to join a gathering at Richardson's house, tells us that both belonged to the same circle of gentlemen interested in literature and art.[826] Sherburn even believes this meeting is one of the round tables, with the help of which Pope accomplished his edition of Shakespeare's *Works*, published in 1728.[827] On the whole, Pope's notes to Richardson give the impression that, during the 1720s, the poet and the painter visited one another frequently. In a letter written in June 1725, Pope interprets Richardson's visit to his house in Twickenham in terms of Homer's ideal of friendship.

> I'm just returned from the Duchess of Buckingham's in Essex, & shall be heartily glad you will take a Bed at my House when you come to Bushy. Homer (whom I hope you will read, for that is the best way of thanking me) will tell you, that Hospitality is the Glory of Friendship, & that, in His days, no man visited a Friend, without passing the Night as well as Day, with him, & making a Libation to

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[822] Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, London 1711 and *Windsor Forest. To the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdowne*, London 1713. *The Messiah. A Sacred Eclogue* was published in May 1712 in *The Spectator* No. 378. For Pope's education in Jervas's studio see Brownell 1978, 10ff. For Jervas see Waterhouse 1994, 149f.
[823] *Pope's Correspondence*, I, 376. See also Brownell 1978, 31.
[824] See chapter II 'The Science of a Connoisseur.'
[825] *Pope's Correspondence*, II, 140f.
[826] *Pope's Correspondence*, II, 100.
[827] *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear. In ten volumes. Publish'd by Mr. Pope and Dr. Sewell*, London 1728. See also *Pope's Correspondence*, II, 106, note. See also Walsh 1997, 126-149.

> Mercury, A bon repos. If nothing else calls you out of town, why not Make the Sunday Holy to Friendship?[828]

Pope's estate in Twickenham played a significant role in the poet's life and implementation of friendship.[829] After he bought Twickenham in 1719, he developed a particular interest in landscape gardening. He transferred the five acres around his house into a place of "amiable simplicity of unadorned Nature", as he compared the natural English garden to the French manner of landscaping as "other Fantastical Operations of Art."[830] Pope created a miniature landscape garden by subdividing it into several areas and features: the Grotto; the Shell Temple; the Vineyard; the Obelisk, in memory of his Mother; the two small mounts; the Bowling Green; the Grove; The Orangery; and the Kitchen Garden (fig. 170).[831] These "multiplied scenes", as Bolingbroke referred to Pope's garden, became the setting for Pope's demonstrations of friendship.[832]

Pope made it a habit to spend a lot of time in his garden with his friends. Following the classical poets, who traditionally considered natural sceneries, in particular the *locus amoenus,* the ideal place for meditation and philosophical discourse among friends, Pope sauntered through the garden with his friends and discussed philosophical matters.[833] In a letter to Bolingbroke Pope wrote of "the peacable Enjoyments of Philosophers in the Garden."[834] Bolingbroke, in turn, assured his friend in the introduction to his moral essays dedicated to Pope, "that my thoughts [...] shall be communicated to you just as they pass thro my mind, just as they use to be when we converse together on those, or any other subjects; when we saunter alone, or as we have often done with good Arbuthnot, and jocose dean of St. Patrick's among your multiplied scenes of your little garden."[835] In a letter to Richardson, Pope invited the painter to "enjoy my Groves all to Ourselves all this day & as much of the night as the fine moon now allows, I am wholly yours for this day & till noon to morrow."[836] Like Bolingbroke and Arbuthnot, Richardson apparently strolled like a philosopher with Pope through the garden.

The garden at Twickenham became an inspirational source not only for Pope but also for Richardson. On the back of one of his numerous landscape sketches and views,

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[828] *Pope's Correspondence,* II, 297f.
[829] Mack 1969, 3ff.
[830] See Pope's essay *On Gardens* (1713) for *The Guardian,* No. 173. See Mack 1969, 51.
[831] See John Searle's description of Pope's garden in his *Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden,* London 1745.
[832] Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Philosophical Works of the Late Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke [...] Published by David Mallet,* London 1754 (5 vols), III, 318.
[833] For the adaptation of this classical ideal see Maren-Sofie Røstvig, *The Happy Man. Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal,* Oslo & New York 1962 (2 vols), II, 189ff.
[834] *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 408. See also Mack 1969, 27.
[835] Bolingbroke, *Works* 1754, III, 318.
[836] *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 79. The letter is dated 29 June 1737.

Richardson noted, "From my chamber at Mr. Pope's, 21 June, 1737".[837] The "multiplied scenes" of Pope's garden also entered Richardson's portraiture. A portrait of Pope, painted before 1738, represents the poet sitting at a table in his garden with the obelisk in the background (fig. 171). Pope is holding a letter in his hand addressed "For Mr. Richardson." This is presumably the painting that architect and landscape gardener William Kent (1685–1748) saw in Richardson's house, and which he described in a letter to Lord Burlington in November 1738, "Pope in a mourning gown with a strange view of the garden to shew the obelisk as in memory to his mothers Death."[838] In this portrait the garden is both a place of memory and meditation. Retrospectively, Horace Walpole observed that the entire disposition of Pope's garden seemed to lead to the obelisk. "The passing through the gloom from the grotto to the opening day, the retiring and again assembling shades, the dusky groves, the larger lawn, and the solemnity of the termination at the cypresses that lead up to his mother's tomb."[839]

For Richardson, the obelisk was not only a visual climax in Pope's garden, it also had some very personal implications. When Pope's mother, Editha, died in June 1733, the poet sent a note to Richardson pleading him to come immediately to Twickenham to portray her in her final serenity.

> I am sure, if there be no very prevalent obstacle, you will leave any common business to do this: and I hope to see you in this evening as late as you will, or to morrow morning as early, before the Winterflower is faded. I will defer her interment till to morrow night. I know you love me, or I cou'd not have written this—I could not (at this time) have written at all.[840]

Richardson went to Twickenham and recorded the features of Pope's mother on her deathbed.[841] Thus the painter became a close companion of Pope in one of his most emotional hours. The portrait of Pope sitting at a table in his garden (fig. 171), which Richardson most likely painted for himself in remembrance of his close friendship with Pope, obviously alludes to this episode.

The visits of Richardson and his son to Twickenham during the 1720s were dominated by philosophical, literary, and art theory conversations. It was only in the 1730s that Richardson also used these "friendly and philosophical hours together" to

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[837] The present location of this landscape drawing is not known. It was among an album of twelve drawings by Richardson in the possession of Charles S. Collins, heir of the eighteenth century naturalist, Peter Collins. See Wimsatt 1965, 149.

[838] *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 150.

[839] See Walpole's essay *On Modern Gardening* in: Walpole 1786, IV, 247–316, esp. 295.

[840] *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 374f.

[841] The present location of this portrait is not known. Another portrait drawing of Editha Pope by Richardson in the collection of W. S. Lewis, Farmington (CT) is reproduced in Wimsatt 1965, 176.

draw portraits of Alexander Pope and landscape sketches of the poet's garden.[842] During these early years of their friendship Pope was intensely occupied with the edition of Shakespeare's works, published in 1728, and particularly with the translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1715–20) and *Odyssey* (1725–26).[843] At this time, Richardson worked together with his son on *An Account* (1722) and on the second amended edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1725), including the chapter "Of the Sublime." Although dealing with different genres, Richardson's and Pope's activities of these years were comparable in a way: Both made works of art accessible to a wider English public, Pope through translation and Richardson through explanation. While Richardson wrote his treatises above all as an educational means to cultivate taste and to enable interested people to discern the beauties of works of art, Pope translated Homer's works in the first place to gain fame as a poet and financial independence. In 1717 Pope wrote in a letter to his friend, poet Thomas Parnell (1679–1718), that he expected temporary fame to put him in the position to make a name for himself. "I hope before I die to discharge the debt I owe to Homer, and get upon the whole just fame enough to serve for an annuity for my own time, though I leave nothing to posterity."[844] Nevertheless their works show that Pope and Richardson had many aesthetic ideas in common, which they certainly also discussed during their days "holy to Friendship."

Richardson and Pope developed a particular sensitivity toward processes of artistic creativity in the course of their works. Both were fascinated by the artist's power of imagination and its aesthetic effects on the reader or beholder, respectively. In the preface to his translation of *Iliad,* Pope described Homer's extraordinary imagery in terms of the sublime.[845] It is his "amazing Invention" together with that "unequal'd Fire and Rapture" that made Homer, in Pope's eyes, the greatest poet. The reader, wrote Pope, "is hurried out of himself by the Force of the Poet's Imagination."[846] "The Sublime", maintained Richardson for his part in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1725), "disdains to be Trammell'd, it knows no Bounds, 'tis the Sally of Great Genius's, and the Perfection of Human Nature; but like *Milton's* Paradise

Wild, above rule, or art, enormous bliss!

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[842] *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 160 and 485f.

[843] *Pope's Iliad* (1715-20) and *The Odyssey of Homer. Translated from the Greek,* London 1725–26 (5 vols). For a general introduction to Pope's translation of Homer's epic poetry see *The Iliad of Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope,* ed. by Steven Shankman, Harmondsworth 1996, xiff, and Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age,* Ithaca & London 1991, 181-217.

[844] *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 396.

[845] For the aesthetic concept of the sublime see particularly Monk 1935.

[846] *Pope's Iliad,* I, preface, without pagination.

MILTON'S Par.Lost, B. V. l. 297."[847]

While Richardson recommended painters to read Milton and Homer in order to enhance their capacity of perceiving nature and to enrich their imaginative ideas throughout his art theories, Pope compared Homer's imagery to that of a painter.[848] Comparable to Richardson who, in later years, read Milton's *Paradise Lost* as a series of pictures, Pope transformed "Homer's sprawling energy into a kind of walking picture gallery."[849] The fervent debates following Pope's *Observations on the Shield of Achilles,* which he interpreted as a work of art, make the originality of his ekphraistic reading of Homer plain.[850] Richardson and Pope realised that poetry and painting drew nearest to one another in the artist's imagination. Being themselves artists, both were similarly sensitive to the creative process of forming mental images. Thus, they developed a particular interest in the imaginative power of the sister arts.[851]

While Pope and Richardson Senior "met congenial mingling flame with flame,"[852] Richardson Junior began to play an active role in the publishing of Pope's works during the 1730s.[853] Asked by Pope, who apparently thought highly of the younger Richardson's patience with detail, Richardson Junior began to collate and record variations in Pope's work. Retrospectively, Richardson Junior admitted a special interest in the history of Pope's manuscripts.[854] The earliest collations to reach print were integrated in the 1735 edition of Pope's *Works.* A section, "Variations", at the end of the second volume recorded readings from different editions of *An Essay of Man* and several epistles.[855]

Richardson Junior's collations of the several manuscript versions and printed editions of *The Dunciad* testify to great ambition.[856] He began to collate these works shortly after the publication of the 1736 edition of Pope's poem on dullness.[857] These collations reveal he was much more interested in Pope's verse than the prose annotations. While he commented on every alteration in the verse, variations of the annotations often remained uncommented.[858] In the course of collating Pope's works, Richardson Junior must have become fully aware of the piecemeal nature of Pope's method of

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[847] Richardson 1725, 263.
[848] See Richardson 1715, 213f; *Pope's Iliad,* I, 21 and 25.
[849] Parker 1998, 120.
[850] See in particular Levine 1991, 212-217.
[851] For Pope's concept of the sister arts see in particular Hagstrum 1958, 135ff.
[852] Pope's *Epistle to Mr. Jervas,* l. 14 in *Pope's Works,* 120.
[853] See Vander Meulen 1991, 47ff.
[854] *Richardsoniana,* 263ff.
[855] Alexander Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope,* London 1735 (2 vols), II, 196ff.
[856] For the different editions of *The Dunciad* see Vander Meulen 1991, 29ff.
[857] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem,* London 1736.
[858] See Vander Meulen 1991, 47ff.

composing[859], an aspect he certainly discussed with his father, being very interested in creative processes. While Richardson Junior patiently collated Pope's works, his father commemorated the poet in his portraits and poems. One of the earliest panegyrics on Pope is the painter's 'Epigram on Pope's Dunciad—To Him', written shortly after the first publication of the satire in May 1728.

> Friend Pope! when first your Dunciad did appear,
> I lik'd the wit, but thought it too severe;
> I now no longer am in pain for you,
> For all that's writ against it says 'tis true.[860]

Toward the end of the 1720s, two projects began to play an increasingly important role in the painter's friendship with the poet: *An Essay on Man* (1733) and *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734).[861] Principal topics of correspondence between Pope and Richardson, father and son, were the explanatory notes on Milton's *Paradise Lost.*[862] Pope apparently read and commented on Richardson's notes, and Richardson certainly valued the poet's opinion. Pope, on the other hand, confided his *An Essay on Man* project to the Richardsons. While intensely discoursing on these aesthetic issues, Richardson began to execute the more than sixty portraits of Pope.[863] These drawn, etched, and painted portraits illustrate in an extraordinary way both the painter's and the poet's world of ideas.

'Thou but preservs't a face, and I a name'

Portraits played an important role throughout Pope's life. Pursuing the multiplication of his face through painted, etched, and drawn portraits with an extraordinary intensity, Pope became the most frequently portrayed poet before the romantic era, and probably the most frequently portrayed person of his age.[864] Without further ado, Pope's obsession with portraits is often explained psychologically by the poet's physical deficiencies.[865] The unhappy condition of his "wretched carcase", as Pope described his body, certainly played a significant role in the poet's portrait mania.[866] Apart from that, Pope deliberately used portraits as a means to cultivate amity and to authorise fame comparable to his

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[859] See Vander Meulen 1991, 3f.
[860] Richardson 1776, 181.
[861] Judging from Pope's correspondence, the poet's plans for a moral essay date as early as autumn 1725. See *Pope's Correspondence*, II, 333. For the genesis of *An Essay on Man* see particularly Maynard Mack's introduction to *Pope's Poems*, III.1, xi-lxxx.
[862] *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 231 and 327; IV, 80.
[863] See Wimsatt 1965, 73-89 and 137-222.
[864] See Wimsatt 1965, xv and Piper 1982, 57f.
[865] See Wimsatt 1965, xxiv ff. and Helen Deutsch, 'The "Truest Copies" and the "Mean Original": Pope, Deformity, and the Poetics of Self-Exposure', in: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27 (1993), 1–26.
[866] *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 444.

poetical works. From Addison we know that poets without "face" were consumed only reluctantly by eighteenth century readers. Addison observed that knowledge of the writer's appearance "conduce[s] very much to the right understanding of an author."[867] This aspect certainly lies at the very heart of Pope's interest in portraits.

From early in his career, Pope developed a particular interest in copying portraits.[868] In March 1705 he sent a "book of Rudiments of Drawing" to a woman who also practised amateur painting, and described in a gallant manner his unsuccessful attempts to copy her portrait after Kneller.

> For having been copying your picture from thence and from Kneller these three days, it has done all possible injury to the finest Face that ever was made, and to the liveliest Image that ever was drawn. I have imagination enough in your absence, to trace some resemblance of you; but I have been so long us'd to lose my judgement at the sight of you, that 'tis past my power to correct it by the life. [869]

Pope continued copying portraits under the guidance of Charles Jervas when he began to study painting as an amateur artist in the painter's studio in June 1713.[870] 1713 became without doubt the year of Pope's most intensive study of painting. In a letter to Gay of August 1713 Pope explained that he was becoming an "*Elegans Formarum Spectator*" with the help of Mr. Jervas. "I begin to discover Beauties that were till now imperceptible to me. Every Corner of an Eye, or a Turn of a Nose or Ear, the smallest degree of Light or Shade on a Cheek, or in a dimple, have charms to distract me."[871] Pope described here his good progress as a spectator of pictures, a progress that a few years later became theorised as the science of connoisseurship in Richardson's *Two Discourses* (1719).

Pope was less pleased with his own artistic attempts in Jervas's studio, where he concentrated on copying portraits by the painter and other artist.: "You may guess", he told John Gay, "in how uneasy a state I am, when every day the performances of other appear more beautiful and excellent, and my own more despicable. I have thrown away three Dr. Swift's, each of which was once my Vanity, two Lady Bridgewaters, a Dutchess of Montague, besides half a dozen Earls, and one Knight of the Garter."[872] With critical regard to his artistic effort, a week later Pope wrote to his friend John Caryll, "I will make essays upon such vulgar as these, before I grow so impudent as to attempt to draw Mr. Caryll: tho' I find my hand most successful in drawing of friends and those I most

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[867] *Spectator*, No. 1.
[868] See William Ayre, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Alexander Pope*, London 1745 (2 vols), I, 4.
[869] *Pope's Correspondence*, I, 4.
[870] See *Pope's Correspondence* I, 177.
[871] *Pope's Correspondence*, I, 187.
[872] *Pope's Correspondence*, I, 187.

esteem; insomuch that my masterpieces have been one of Dr. Swift, and one Mr. Betterton."[873]

Pope apparently believed the quality of a portrait is inextricably connected with the artist's esteem for the sitter. This view might explain Pope's close relationship with portrait painters, which transcended the more common relation between artist and sitter.[874]

In his *Epistle to Mr. Jervas,* written while he studied painting under Jervas, Pope aestheticised his congenial friendship with the artist in terms of the sister arts. In 1715, shortly after Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting* was printed, Pope's *Epistle to Mr. Jervas* was published as introduction to the second revised edition of Dryden's *Art of Painting,* a translation of Du Fresnoy's didactic poem, *De Arte Graphica* (1667).[875] Following Du Fresnoy's text, which opens with a poetical concoction on Horace's famous *ut pictura poesis dictum* and Simonide's phrase of painting as mute poetry, Pope poetically celebrated the sister arts in terms of his friendship with Jervas.

> Smit with the the love of Sister-Arts we came
> And met congenial mingling flame with flame;
> Like friendly coulours found them both unite
> And Each from each contract new strength and light.[876]

Pope's verse gives an indication of the importance he placed on the intellectual exchange of ideas with painters. He then referred to a number of critical and aesthetic commonplaces such as the indisputable pre-eminence of Raphael's art, the authority of ancient writers and poets, and the wide spread manner of copying old masters.[877] It is clearly the sister art's power of immortalising individuals that intrigued Pope most.

> Muse! At that name thy sacred sorrows shed
> Those tears eternal that embalm the dead:
> Call round her Tomb each object of desire,
> Each purer frame inform'd with purer fire:
> Bid her be all that cheers or softens life,
> The tender sister, daughter, friend, and wife:
> Bid her be all that makes mankind adore;
> Then view this marble, and be vain no more!
> [...]
> The kindred arts shall in their praise conspire,
> One dip the pencil, and one string the lyre.
> Yet should the Graces all thy figures place,
> And breathe an air divine on every face;

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[873] Pope's letter to Caryll of 31 August 1713, in: *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 189.
[874] See Brownell 1978, 9ff. Piper, however, interpreted the close relationship between Pope and his portraitists as the poet's attempt to personally control the production of his pictorial representations. See Piper 1982, 57.
[875] Dufresnoy 1716. For different translations of Du Fresnoy's text see also Lipking 1970, 38ff.
[876] *Epistle to Mr Jervas,* l. 13-16, in: *Pope's Works,* 120.
[877] Brownell 1978, 64ff.

Yet should the Muses bid my numbers roll
Strong as their charms, and gentle as their soul;
With Zeuxis Helen thy Bridgewater vie,
And these be sung til Granville's Myra die:
Alas, how little from the grave we claim!
Thou but preservs't a face and I a name.[878]

These lines, from *Epistle to Mr Jervas,* illustrate that Pope conceived that the principal purpose of painting and poetry was to commemorate a person's reputation to posterity. The idea of memorisation is a central thread throughout Pope's oeuvre. Pope frequently used "portrait" to denote the process of memorising and complementing. Referring to his politico-topographical poem, *Windsor Castle,* which he dedicated to the architect of the Tory Peace of Utrecht, his friend George Granville, Lord Lansdowne (1667–1735), Pope compared himself "to an ordinary painter."[879] Thus Pope transformed the poem into a political portrait of Lord Lansdowne. Like portraits, Pope considered poems as works of art that commemorated public figures and their way of thinking. The sister art's power to memorise is ultimately manifested in the frontispiece to the second volume of the 1735 edition of Pope's *Works.*[880] Two putti, personifications of painting and poetry, embrace one another and frame a portrait medal of Pope (fig. 172).

Pope's affection for personal and historical memorials is also expressed in his fascination with funerary monuments, which played a significant role throughout his life. The obelisk Pope erected in his Twickenham garden to memorialise his beloved mother illustrates the importance of *memento mori* to the poet (fig. 171). During the 1720s and 1730s Pope was particularly associated with monuments of poets and artists. He developed a passionate interest in the Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey and was involved in the erection of some of its monuments.[881] In fact, it was his vision to transform all the non-royal parts of the abbey into a national pantheon for great men.[882]

Self-described as "a lively little Creature, with long Arms and Legs: A spider is no ill Emblem of him",[883] Pope developed a particular sensitivity to the power of portraits. Pope's physical disabilities, as shown in William Hoare's (1707–1792) and Lady Burlington's unauthorised sketches of the poet (fig. 173 and 174), were the result of a

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[878] *Epistle to Mr. Jervas,* l. 47-54 and 69-78, in: *Pope's Works,* 121f.
[879] *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 172.
[880] Alexander Pope, *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope,* London 1735 (2 vols), II, frontispiece.
[881] Brownell 1978, 334–61.
[882] See Brownell 1978, 339f, and David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubilliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument,* New Haven & London 1995, 3f.
[883] See Pope's description of the *Scriblerus Club* in *The Guardian* No. 92 of 26 June 1713, reprinted in *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope,* ed. by Norman Ault, Oxford 1936, I, 125.

spinal tubercular infection during late childhood.[884] Grimly noticing the absurd discrepancy between his crippled body and his poetical genius, Pope described his body as "the wretched carcase I am annexed to."[885] Samuel Johnson gave an unflinchingly detailed description of the poet's physique.

> The person of Pope is well known not to have been formed by the nicest model ... He is said to have been beautiful in his infancy; but he was of a constitution originally feeble and weak, and as bodies of a tender frame are easily distorted his deformity was probably in part the effect of his application. His stature was so low that, to bring him to a level with common tables, it was necessary to raise his seat. But his face was not displeasing, and his eyes were animated and vivid. [...]
>
> Most of what can be told concerning his petty peculiarities was communicated by a female domestic of the Earl of Oxford, who knew him perhaps after the middle of life. He was then so weak as to stand in perpetual need of female attendance; extremely sensible of cold, so that he wore a kind of fur doublet under a shirt of a very coarse warm linen with fine sleeves. When he rose, he was invested in bodice made of stiff canvas, being scarce able to hold himself erect till they were laced, and he then put on a flannel waistcoat. One side was contracted. His legs were so slender, that he enlarged their bulk with three pair of stockings, which were drawn on and of by the maid; for he was not able to dress or undress himself, and neither went to bed nor rose without help. His weakness made it very difficult for him to be clean.[886]

Pope's deformity, however, turned out to be the poet's most powerful weapon in his struggle to win authority both from the literary marketplace and his literary canonical predecessors.[887] In a brilliant way Pope championed "his deformity as a bridge between life and art."[888] Public travesty, such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's unflattering portrait of the poet as a monstrous hybrid of "Roman Wit" and "English Rage", he converted into an aesthetic means for popularising his poetry.[889] With incessant sardonic blows at his contemporaries, Pope virtually provoked mockery in response. As a result, both Pope's deformity and his poetry similarly became the talk of the town.[890]

Like these literary caricatures, the visual portraits of Pope played an important role in the poet's lifelong struggle for authority. In view of the unhappy condition of the poet's physique it is not surprising, however, that none of the hundreds of portraits, authorised by Pope himself, were full-length profile portraits, such as William Hoare's study (fig. 173). As a young man, Pope was portrayed in full length in various

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[884] Marjorie Hope Nicolson and George Sebastian Rousseau, *'This long disease, my life'. Alexander Pope and the Sciences*, Princeton 1968, 7-82, esp. 14ff.
[885] *Pope's Correspondence*, III, 444.
[886] Johnson 1780-81, II, 382ff.
[887] See Deutsch 1993, 1ff.
[888] See Deutsch 1993, 1–2.
[889] Mary Wortley Montague, *Verses Adress'd to the Imitator of the First Satire of the Second Book ofHorace by a Lady*, London 1733, 3.
[890] See Maynard Mack, '"The Least Thing like a Man in England": Some Effects of Pope's Physical Disability on His Life and Literary Career', in: Maynard Mack, *Collected in Himself. Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and Some Contemporaries*, Newark 1982, 272–92.

contemplative poses, yet always seated as, for example, in Jervas's portrait of Pope of circa 1714 representing the poet in his library accompanied by a muse and a bust of Homer (fig. 175), or Richardson's portrait of the poet with his dog, Bounce, painted in 1718 (fig. 176). During the 1720s Pope developed a particular liking for Romanised busts and noble profiles such as Kneller's 1721 profile portrait of Pope (fig. 177). Toward the end of his life Pope became immortalised as a classical poet in the form of Roubiliac's numerous idealised marble busts representing the poet as an Augustan philosopher-poet (fig. 178).

Corresponding with Pope's preference for idealised portraits, Richardson maintained, in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), that "Painters should take a Face, and make an Antique Medal, or Bas-Relief of it, by divesting it of its Modern Disguises, raising the Air, and the Features, and giving it the Dress of those Times, and suitable to the Character intended."[891] It may have been this attitude that, in Pope's view, made Richardson a particularly precious friend during the 1730s. However, unlike Pope, who considered the portrait in the first place as a biased means to win authority and to construct an idealised image of his person, Richardson's interest in portraiture surpassed this rather socio-political aspect. The sketchy portrait drawings of Pope, in particular, originate from Richardson's peculiar fascination for individuals and the painful knowledge of the momentariness of human nature.[892] While Richardson took portrait drawing as an aesthetic means to preserve the present state of a person—a state, however, that changed perpetually—Pope's interest in portraits was accompanied by the poet's struggle for authorial power and permanence.[893] The portrait, it seems, eventually became a conversational medium that lived up to both Richardson's aesthetic ideals and Pope's political demands.

'Amicitiae Causa'

When Richardson began to portray Alexander Pope regularly during the 1730s, the poet was at the height of his career. The successful publication of the *Iliad* translation (1715–20) earned Pope a lifelong financial independence.[894] His public image as the 'English Homer' was established through Jervas's and Kneller's portraits, which were frequently copied and represented in almost every noble house (fig. 175 and 177).[895] In *Letters*

[891] Richardson 1715, 198.
[892] Richardson 1719, II, 178.
[893] Piper 1982, 43-90 and Morris 1984, 303ff.
[894] See David Foxon, *Pope and the Early-Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, revised and ed. by James McLaverty, Oxford 1991, 51-101.
[895] See Wimsatt 1965, 7ff.

Concerning the English Nation (1732) French writer and satirist François Marie Arouet Voltaire (1694–1778) observed ironically that "the picture of the prime minister hangs over the chimney of his own closet, but I have seen that of Mr. Pope in twenty noblemen's houses."[896] Voltaire's observation implies that the market for portraits of Pope appeared to be saturated in the early 1730s.

Nonetheless, Richardson began to paint, draw, and etch dozens of portraits of Pope in the early 1730s,[897] and with more than sixty known portraits it is by far the largest corpus of portraits of a poet by one artist. As the self-portrait drawings and portrait drawings of relatives and friends, Richardson bequeathed the majority of the etched and drawn portraits of Pope to his son.[898] The earliest dated portrait of this period is a plumbago drawing representing Pope's bare head in profile to the left, executed on 16 June 1733 (fig. 179). The last dated portraits are the two pencil sketches representing 'Pope Asleep', done in July 1741 (fig. 180 and 181). Yet Richardson apparently still painted portraits of Pope in the following year. In a note of 10 June 1742, Pope gave Richardson notice of a sitting of Bolingbroke and himself in the painter's studio.[899]

Richardson's most successful portrait painting represents the poet in profile with bare head wearing a dark red coat with a fur collar (fig. 182). This composition became one of the most frequently reproduced portraits throughout the eighteenth century.[900] Toward the end of the eighteenth century Thomas Holloway (1748–1827) engraved Richardson's composition for the first volume of Joseph Warton's edition of Pope's *Works* of 1797 (fig. 183).[901] Richardson himself painted two nearly identical profile portraits of this type for the physician and collector Dr. Richard Mead, a mutual friend of the painter and the poet.[902] From a description of Dr. Mead's gallery we know that he placed these portraits of Pope together with portraits of Edmond Halley (1656–1742) and Isaac Newton "near the Busts of their great Masters, the antient Greeks and Romans."[903] Dr. Mead's display of the portraits of Pope in conversation with the ancient busts shows that the poet has already reached a state of immortality during his lifetime. Another version of this portrait was in possession of Lord Walpole of Walterton. The

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[896] François Marie Arouet Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation,* Dublin 1733, 191.
[897] See Wimsatt 1965, 137ff.
[898] See Langford 1772, 5ff.
[899] *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 400.
[900] See Wimsatt 1965, 205ff.
[901] Alexander Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. In nine volumes, complete. With notes and illustrations by Joseph Warton, D.D. and others [...],* London 1797 (9 vols).
[902] See *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 91.
[903] Maty 1755, 62-3. One of these painting is now at Petworth House, Sussex, the other one belongs to Sir Robert Arthur Wilmot, Bart. Pitcairle, Newburgh, Fife. See Wimsatt 1965, 208.

inscription on the plate on the frame reads: "Given with his Works/by Alexander Pope, this picture by Richardson/to Lord Walpole of Wolterton."[904] A variation of the profile portrait was painted by Richardson at the request of his son (fig. 184). It is a freely and tentatively painted half-length portrait of Pope with short hair, wearing a red coat trimmed with fur. The poet is gazing over his right shoulder to the left side. The inscription on the back reads: "This picture Mr. Pope sat to my father for at my request for me 1742."[905]

Exceptional is Richardson's profile portrait of Pope as poet laureate, painted circa 1738, which is in the National Portrait Gallery today (fig. 185). In contrast to the rather smooth and polished surfaces of many of Richardson's paintings, this portrait shows a bold and free brushwork, comparable to the investigative nature of Richardson's crayon drawings. Vigorous and coarse brush strokes model the poet's facial lineaments. A similar plastic style characterises Richardson's portrait of Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, painted about the same time (fig. 186). It is known that Pope and Bolingbroke exchanged Richardson's portraits as tokens of friendship.[906] However, the exceptionally similar technique of these portraits suggests they were painted as pendants for either Pope or Bolingbroke. From Pope's last will we know he possessed several portraits of himself and of Bolingbroke. Richardson's portraits of Bolingbroke apparently were particularly important to Pope, for these are the only portraits the poet referred to by name in his will. "That my Lord *Marchmont*", records Pope, "will take the large Paper Edition of *Thuanus,* by *Buckley*; and that portrait of *Lord Bolingbroke,* by *Richardson;* which he shall prefer."[907] It seems as if Richardson endeavoured to find an exceptional pictorial language in these portraits that corresponded with the extraordinary nature of Pope's friendship with Bolingbroke.

Comparable to the painted portrait of Pope as poet laureate, Richardson's etched profile portrait of Pope, inscribed "Amicitiae Causa", speaks an exceptional pictorial language (fig. 187). During 1736 Richardson designed this delicately composed profile portrait as frontispiece to Pope's luxurious edition in folio and quarto of *Letters of Mr. Pope and several friends* of 1737.[908] The whole episode of the publication of *Letters of Mr.*

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[904] Quoted in Wimsatt 1965, 209.
[905] See Wimsatt 1965, 220.
[906] See *Pope's Correspondence*, IV, 118f, 123, 150 and 400, and the poet's *Inventory*, reproduced in Mack 1969, 244ff, esp. 248, 250, 254 and 264.
[907] Alexander Pope, *The Last Will and Testament of Alexander Pope, of Twickenham, Esq; to which is Added, an Inscription Wrote by Himself,* London 1744, 8.
[908] Alexander Pope, *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope, and Several of his Friends,* London 1737.

Pope shows how Pope's poetical authority is inextricably bound to those he mocks and how Richardson's portraits of the poet began to play a crucial role in this social game.[909]

As early as 1712 Pope was pondering the possibility of using his letters for publication.[910] Yet he felt strongly that it would not be considered proper for a writer to publish his own letters; he would be blamed of conceit. Pope's mind changed after the publisher and bookseller Edmund Curll (1683–1747) published his surreptitious edition of Pope's letters to Henry Cromwell in 1726.[911] In the following decade Pope and Curll engaged in a bizarre feud.[912] In 1733 Curll advertised more than once for biographical material for an opprobrious Pope biography. Responding to one of these advertisements, Pope offered Curll a collection of letters anonymously through an agent known only as P. T. Curll, however, was legitimately suspicious and refused the offer. It was only in 1735 that Curll approached Pope directly by sending him P.T.'s offer. Pope used this opportunity to discredit Curll publicly.[913] Eventually, on 12 May 1735, the mysterious P. T. began delivering at Curll's bookshop octavo volumes of Pope's letters in different states of completeness.[914] A month later, Pope offered, advertising in the *London Gazette,* a reward of twenty guineas for information about the publication of his letters and twice the sum for P.T.'s identity. He also announced his intention to republish some of his correspondence in an authorised edition. A short time later, Pope's *Narrative of the Method by Which the Private Letters of Mr. Pope have been Procur'd and Publish'd by Edmund Crull, Bookseller* appeared, containing his version of the entire affair.[915] It was Pope's meticulous *Narrative,* including a detailed account of the transactions between Curll and the agent, which made not only Curll but others immediately suspicious of the poet's involvement in the whole affair. However, Pope had sufficient reasons to publish an "authorised" edition of his letters in the end.

Pope's authorised edition of letters appeared in June 1737 under the title *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope and Several of His Friends,* adorned with a frontispiece showing Pope's portrait in profile done by Richardson (fig. 187). The purpose of Pope's authorised

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[909] For the genesis of Pope's authorised edition of *Letters* of 1737 see Wendy L. Jones, *Talking on Paper: Alexander Pope's Letters,* University of Victoria 1999, 7ff. See furthermore James Anderson Winn, *A Window in the Bosom: The Letters of Alexander Pope,* Hamden 1977, 13-41, and Sherburn's introduction to *Pope's Correspondence.*

[910] See *Pope's Correspondence,* I, xi.

[911] *Miscellanea. In Two Volumes. Never Before Published,* London 1727. The volume, published by Curll in July 1726, is postdated. See *Pope's Correspondence,* I, xi.

[912] See *Pope's Correspondence,* I, xi ff. and Jones 1991, 7ff.

[913] See Pope's notice in the *Daily Post-Boy* of 3 April 1735, quoted in Wendy 1991, 7.

[914] *Pope's Correspondence,* I, xiii.

[915] [Alexander Pope], *A Narrative of the Method by which the Private Letters of Mr. Pope Have Been Procur'd and Publish'd by Edmund Curll, Bookseller,* London 1735.

edition of letters between himself and of several of his friends was to "stoop to truth" in his feud with Curll. "If what is here offer'd the Reader", Pope explained in the preface, "should happen in any degree to please him, the thanks are not due to the Author, but partly to his Friends, and partly to his Enemies: It was wholly owing to the Affection of the former, that so many Letters which he never kept copies were preserv'd , and to the Malice of the latter that they were produc'd in this manner."[916] More importantly, the letters were meant to advocate Pope's true moral character and to show that he constantly enjoyed "the friendship of worthy men."[917] Being conversations upon paper with friends, Pope believed that letters genuinely convey the author's true moral character. "A letter", Pope maintained, "should be a natural image of the mind of the writer."[918] Swift even holds the opinion that out of Pope's letters "there might be collected the best system that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life."[919] Many contemporaries were not so enthusiastic, although Pope was celebrated as an accomplished letter writer.[920] It was simply difficult for readers to reconcile the sincere attitude of Pope in his letters with his scathing wit in his satires.

However, in the preface to *Letters of Mr. Pope and Several Friends,* Pope maintained his letters "are a proof what were his real Sentiments, as they flow'd warm from the heart, and fresh from the occasion; without the least thought that ever the world should be witness to them."[921] Comparable to Richardson's portrait studies, Pope's letters indeed record the momentary states of his mind.[922] In order to underline the naturalness of his letters, Pope even compared them to sketches in drawing.

> Had he sate down with a design to draw his own Picture, he could not have done it so truly; for whosoever sits for it (whether to himself or another) will inevitably find the features more compos'd , than his appear in these letters. But if an Author's hand, like a Painter's be more distinguishable in a slight sketch than in a finish'd picture, this very carelessness will make them the better known from such Counterfeits, as have been, and may imputed to him, either thro' a mercenary, or a malicious design.[923]

For both Richardson and Pope, authenticity is not a matter of perfect artistry but consists in the naturalness of a swift thought or an unfinished sketch. "You see", wrote Pope in a letter to Wycherley, "my letters are scribbled with all the carelessness and inattention imaginable: my style, like my soul appears in its natural undress before my

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916 Pope 1737, preface, without pagination.
917 Pope 1737, v.
918 *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 94.
919 *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 77.
920 See Sherburn's introduction to *Pope's Correspondence* and Wendy 1991, 25ff.
921 Pope 1737, preface, without pagination.
922 See Sherburn's introduction to *Pope's Correspondence* I, x.
923 Pope 1737, preface, without pagination.

friend."[924] It is the "Grace beyond the Reach of Art" that fascinated Pope and Richardson equally.[925] It is therefore not surprising that Pope had chosen one of Richardson's most delicate and informal sketches as frontispiece for his authorised edition of his *Letters*. A note, written in March 1737, shows that Richardson's etched portrait was indeed of great importance to Pope.

> Dr Sir,—I hope your Friend has done justice to your Work, in rolling off that excellent Etching in My Titlepage which will be the most Valuable thing in the book. As soon as they, together with the Headpiece & Initial Letter to the Preface are done, & the Sheets quite dry, I must desire your care again to cause them very cleanly packed up & sent to the Printer's Mr. Wright on St Peter's hill, who should give his Receit for them & return also the Copper Headpiece & Letter Preface. You know the *least* Dirt thrown on the best Work, or best character, will spoil the whole Grace of it.[926]

During the year 1736 Richardson designed two etched portraits of Pope both inscribed '*Amicitiae Causa.*' One represents Pope in rather formal posture wearing a wig, a shirt opened at the collar, and a dark cloak. The poet looks towards the beholder (fig. 203). The portrait is inscribed "Alex. Pope/Amicitiae causa.//J. Richardson f. 1736." The other—the one that Pope eventually chose as frontispiece for *Letters of Mr. Pope*—is a noble profile portrait in a medallion, inscribed "Amicitiae Causa/J. Richardson f." (fig. 187). Most remarkable about the etched portrait is its delicate and informal nature. Like the etched profile of Bolingbroke (fig. 220), this etching shows an unexpectedly loose and expressive line work. The round of the medallion and the outlines of the face and neck are made up of short irregular lines. The poet's facial lineaments seem to dissolve in individual strokes. Another version of this etching done in reverse direction, inscribed in pencil "Amicitiae Causa/Richardson 1736", reveals that Richardson was preoccupied with this design for some time and made several versions (fig. 188).

Three further etched profile portraits of Pope disclose Richardson's obsessive interest in this composition (fig. 189–191). In these etchings Pope is portrayed in profile wearing a coat with a fur collar comparable to Richardson's painted portraits of Pope (fig. 182). However, like the etched profile portrait, which Pope used for his authorised edition of *Letters of Mr. Pope,* these portraits are characterised by a remarkable informality. One impression bears the inscription "ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ/Mr. Pope/J. Richardson fecit 1738" (fig. 191). The Greek motto *ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ* is from Aristotle's *Poetics,* where the philosopher discussed the pleasure of recognition in the art of portraiture. To

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[924] *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 155.
[925] Pope, *An Essay on Criticism,* l. 155. See *Pope's Works,* 23. See furthermore Samuel Monk, 'A Grace Beyond the Reach of Art', in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5 (1944), 131-150.
[926] *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 58.

Pope's contemporaries the expression meant "The very man", or "the Man himself."[927] Thus, these portraits constitute a pictorial pendant to Pope's letters being "a natural image of the mind of the writer."[928]

Compared to the conventionally engraved public portraits of Pope, after compositions by Jervas and Kneller (fig. 192 and 193), Richardson's etched portraits are indeed "slight sketches" rather than a "finished pictures".[929] Richardson's etched profile portrait shows the poet's soul in its "natural undress" as represented in his letters. However, while Pope used Richardson's etched portraits as a means to disclose his true moral character, Curll adapted Richardson's design to show the poet's falsehood. Like Kneller's and Jervas's earlier portraits of Pope, Curll used Richardson's design as frontispiece for another unauthorised edition of Pope's *Letters,* published in June 1737 (fig. 194).[930] However, this portrait does not possess the "carelessness" of Richardson's original etchings. Only two years earlier, in May 1735, Curll had explained in a public letter about his recent edition of *Letters of Mr. Pope* that he had "engraven a new plate of Mr. Pope's head from Mr. Jervas's painting; and likewise intend to hang him up in effigy for a sign to all spectators of his falsehood and my own veracity" (fig. 195).[931] In Pope's feud with Curll, Richardson's etched portraits clearly played a political role.

Pope himself used Richardson's etched portraits as tokens of friendship; he presented them to friends and patrons. Two versions of the etched portrait, representing the poet in official attire wearing a wig (fig. 203), were inserted, for instance, as frontispieces into a four-volume set of Pope's works bound in red morocco for Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707–1751).[932] Like the etched portrait, which Pope used as frontispiece for his "authorised" edition of *Letters of Mr. Pope* (1737), the two etchings are inscribed "Amicitae Causa" Yet it was only after the sale of Richardson Junior's collection in 1772 that Richardson's etched portraits of Pope became a collector's item. They were privately collected in albums and used for extra illustrated editions of Pope's *Works.* A variation of the etched profile portrait of Pope was integrated, for example, into Thomas Dodd's extra illustrated *Works of Pope* (1824) (fig. 196).[933]

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[927] See *Aristotle's Art of Poetry. Translated from the Original Greek, According to Mr. Theodore Goulston's Edition. Together with Mr. D'Acier's Notes,* London 1705, 30f.
[928] *Pope's Correspondence,* I, 94.
[929] Pope 1737, v. See also *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 58.
[930] Alexander Pope, *Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence. Volume the fifth,* London 1737.
[931] See Robert Carruther, *The Life of Alexander Pope,* London 1857, 324. Quoted in Wimsatt 1965, 49.
[932] This set is in the Lefferts Collection in the Harvard College Library. See Wimsatt 1965, 185.
[933] Alexander Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope, with Notes and Illustrations by Himself and Others. To which Are Added a New Life of the Author[...] and Occasional Remarks by William Roscoe,* London 1824 (10 vols), I.

'Pope by the Life'

The majority of Richardson's drawn and etched portraits of Pope are unique. Only a few of the portrait drawings of Pope appear to be executed as preliminary studies for the painted and etched portraits, such as the plumbago drawing dated 6 September 1736 representing Pope wearing a wig, a white shirt, and a dark cloak, and the corresponding etching in the National Portrait Gallery (fig. 197 and 198). However, most of the drawings seem rather tentative variations on the same composition, such as the series of drawn and etched portraits representing Pope wearing a wig, an unbuttoned shirt, and a cloak (fig. 199–204). Similar to Richardson's sequence of self-portrait drawings these portraits are characterised by an investigative use of different techniques. In order to achieve an adequate image of the poet Richardson not only experimented with different drawing techniques such as pen, crayon, plumbago, and wash, he even reworked the etched impressions with chalk and pencil as, for example, the undated composition in the Cornell University Library (fig. 200); the shades in the etchings are delicately remodelled in crayon.

Richardson's portrait drawings and etchings of Pope originate from the artist's genuine interest in the poet's personality, an interest that appears aroused not only by the poet's extraordinary genius but also by his exceptional appearance. As much as Pope's physical deformity was the derision of various detractors; the poet's facial features fascinated many contemporaries. Witnessing one of Pope's rare public appearances at Lord Oxford's 1742 auction of paintings, the young art student Joshua Reynolds recounted that Pope

> had an extraordinary face. Not an everyday countenance—a pallid, studious look; not merely a sharp, keen countenance, but something grand, like Cicero's. It was like what Petronius Arbiter says [*grandiaque indomiti verba Ciceronis*]. He said there was an appearance about his mouth which is found only in the deformed, and from which he could have known him to be deformed.[934]

Similarly, Joseph Spence (1699–1768) was reminded of Pope's expression when he saw a bust of Julius Caesar in the Great Duke's Gallery in Florence in 1734.[935] Richardson's fascination for the poet's face is reflected in the countless drawn and etched portraits focusing on the poet's facial features (fig. 205–212). Akin to Richardson's self-portraits, these portrait drawings are exceptionally informal and have nothing in common with Pope's official image.

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[934] From James Boswell's notes for a biography of Sir Joshua Reynolds, quoted in *Portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Character sketches of Oliver Goldsmith, Samuel Johnson, and David Garrick [...]*, ed. by Frederick W. Hilles, London 1952, 24f.

[935] See Joseph Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. by Slava Klima, Montreal 1975, 143.

However, Richardson's obsessive interest in Pope cannot simply be explained by the painter's friendship with the poet; it is an interest nourished by a deep-seated curiosity of humans. Richardson's creativity as a draughtsman is rooted in his severe philosophical interest in individuality, an interest largely inspired by the artist's intense preoccupation with John Locke's model of the human mind. While pondering Locke's epistemological approach, Richardson increasingly became aware of the fragmentary and unstable nature of human understanding. As much as this philosophical interest influenced Richardson toward executing the extraordinary sequences of portrait drawings of himself and of his son, it played a considerable role in the process of composing the numerous portraits of Alexander Pope.

Like Richardson's self-portrait drawings, the drawn and etched portraits of Pope are of an experimental and compulsive nature. Thoroughly dated, these portraits also constitute some sort of experimental series comparable to Richardson's self-portraits. Judging from a number of pencil studies said to be drawn at "Twitenham", Richardson used his frequent visits to Pope's house in Twickenham in order to execute the portrait drawings of Pope "by the Life" (fig. 213). Some of these portrait drawings, such as the two profile portraits in the Cornell University Library (fig. 180 and 181), give the impression that the process of drawing meant not only pleasure but great effort. In blunt, descriptive shorthand the contours are several times reviewed and reworked. The painter's attention is entirely focused on the poet's facial features. Richardson's studies of Pope are pictorial attempts to grasp the momentary states of the poet's "great, Vigorous, and active Mind" as lodged in his "little tender, and crazy Carcase."[936]

Remarkably unique among these portrait drawings are the two pencil studies 'Pope Asleep' drawn in July 1741 (fig. 180 and 181). One drawing, executed in black crayon over pencil on white paper, is inscribed recto "July 1741/.../... n of easy chair Parlor" and "a Sleep." The other drawing, executed in pencil on white paper, is inscribed on the front "at Twitnam 11 July 1741/Pope a S ... p." Both drawings bear Richardson's collector mark. With Pope's face in profile in slightly modified postures, these portraits appear to have been drawn spontaneously one after another. This impression is strengthened by the fact that, before he drew Pope's face in pencil, on the same piece of paper Richardson had used a pen to make notes on seventeenth century painters.[937] The extraordinary informality of these two drawings results in the reproduction of the crayon

[936] *Pope's Correspondence*, I, 55.
[937] See Wimsatt 1965, 165.

drawing as "a Portrait of Pope Apparently Taken after Death" in the *Graphic*.[938] Representing Pope with relaxed features—closed eyes and slightly opened mouth—this portrait drawing indeed gives the impression of a picture recording the features of a dead person.

Pope apparently dozed off in the presence of friends from time to time, and was irritated by this physical weakness. In a letter to Richardson of 21 November 1743, he wrote the painter "I sleep in company, & wake at night: which is vexatious."[939] Samuel Johnson mockingly observed that the poet "once slumbered at his own table while the Prince of Wales was talking of poetry."[940] The two portraits of 'Pope Asleep' show Richardson's fascination for the altered features of his sleeping companion, which are entirely opposed to the poet's naturally alert and self-conscious facial expressions.

Apart from William Hoare's and Lady Burlington's burlesque sketches of Pope (fig. 173 and 174), Richardson's studies of 'Pope Asleep' are the only portraits that portray Pope unaware of being portrayed. While William Hoare's and Lady Burlington's portraits vibrate with affectionate mockery, Richardson's portraits entail sincerity and unaffectedness; they represent the poet as a vulnerable individual temporarily deprived of his consciousness. Representing the artist's genuine look at the poet, Richardson's two studies of Pope asleep tell much about the relationship between artist and poet. These portraits indeed speak the "language of the heart", a phrase that in Pope's usage is always associated with honest feeling and sincerity, as opposed to the conceited intellectual language of *wit*.[941]

Less dominant is the "language of the heart" in the more finished plumbago drawings of Pope representing the poet in a variety of poetic roles. These portrait drawings, which Richardson presumably executed in his studio, seem rather to illustrate Pope's genius of wit. Being an "atmospherical creature" by temperament, Pope experimented with a variety of poetic roles reflecting his literary creativity throughout his life.[942] While translating the *Iliad*, Pope fashioned himself as the English Homer, and while paraphrasing *The House of Fame* (c. 1369), Pope wanted to be seen as the modern Chaucer (c. 1343–1400). Pope surrounded himself with portraits of Dryden, Milton,

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[938] See *The Graphic. An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, 38.152 (11 August 1888). Quoted in Wimsatt 1965, 165.
[939] *Pope's Correspondence*, IV, 484.
[940] Johnson 1780-81, II, 384.
[941] See Pope's preface to the authorised edition of the *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope and several of his friends*, 1737, where he described his letters not as "Efforts of the Genius but Emanations of the Heart." See also Griffin 1978, 102. For Pope's concept of *wit*, see John Sitter, *Arguments of Augustan Wit*, Cambridge 1991, 22ff and 101ff, and Maynard Mack, 'Wit and Poetry and Pope: Some Observations on His Imagery', in: Mack 1982, 37–54.
[942] Griffin 1978, 38.

Shakespeare, and other poets not only to keep him "always humble"[943] as he explained himself, but to remind him pictorially of the literary personality he wanted to become.[944] Pope's role playing became a matter of identity. To Richardson this kind of role playing was not completely new. He himself experimented with a variety of roles, not only in his self-portraits but also in his poetical meditations where, only half jesting, he stylised himself as "Pope, Milton, Virgil, and Homer."[945]

Richardson's more finished portrait drawings of Pope continue pictorially the poet's process of finding and choosing a poetical role that fit. Being aware of how constitutional these poetical roles were to Pope's identity, Richardson experimented with a variety of poetical roles in his portraits. Most of the portrait drawings are variations on Pope as poet laureate (fig. 213–216). Though Pope was never honoured officially with this title, nor posthumously either[946], the countless portraits of Pope establish him as the undisputed leading poet of his age. However, in contrast to the public image of Pope as poet laureate, such as is represented in Kneller's profile portrait (fig. 177), Richardson's drawn and etched portraits of the poet are characterised by a certain intimacy and familiarity. It is Richardson's curiosity about human nature shimmering through the ideal image as poet laureate, such as in the portrait drawing which is inscribed verso in the artist's hand "Pope by the Life/5 Feb. 1734/5" (fig. 213). There is a moment of uncertainty in this portrait caused by the inconsistency between the carefully modelled crowned head and the *non finito* of the whole composition. This impression is enhanced by the inscription verso: this drawing is an *ad vivum* study. As much as the composition idealises the author as poet laureate, it humanises Pope, who is represented both as poet of genius and as vulnerable individual. At the same time, the *non finito* identifies the drawing as an attempt to record the painter's intellectual process of forming a "Model of Perfection" in his mind.[947] This creative process is also visible in the plumbago drawing representing Pope in profile and inscribed with a couplet from Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (1711): "on whose honour'd brow/the Poet's Bays and Critick's Ivy grow" (fig. 216). As in the study of Pope as poet laureate (fig. 213), composition and drawing technique are

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[943] *Pope's Correspondence* I, 120.
[944] See John Paul Russo, *Alexander Pope: Tradition and Identity*, Cambridge 1972, 1ff.
[945] See chapter VII. 'I'm Pope, Milton, Virgil and Homer Here'
[946] The title of poet laureate was first granted to Ben Jonson in 1616 for poetic excellence. Its holder became a salaried member of the British Royal household and was expected to compose poems for court or national occasions. Laurence Eusden (1688–1730), who became poet laureate in 1718, became immortalised only by Pope in the *Dunciad* as "Eusden, a laurel'd Bard, by fortune rais'd/By very few was read, by fewer prais'd." These lines show Pope's ironical aversion to this kind of honour. Like Eusden, the dramatist Colley Cibber (1671–1757) made poet laureate in 1730 and became the target of Pope's satire. See *The Dunciad*, book III, 319-320, in: *Pope's Poems*, V, 186f.
[947] Richardson 1715, 162.

inconsistent. The profile of Pope is rendered in tentative short lines. The perfection of the profile portrait appears to be dissected by the painter's investigative pencil. This drawing records the painter's perceptive effort to "take a Face and, make an Antique Medal, or Bas-Reliefs of it" as Richardson described the process of idealisation in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715).[948]

Richardson represented Pope not only in the role of the poet laureate, but toyed with a number of poetical roles. The Cornell University Library is in possession of a portrait drawing of Pope with the inscription "Pope as a C—" (fig. 217).[949] The portrait represents Pope in a headdress, consisting of a chaperon and liripipe, and a buttoned garment, which are reminiscent of a miniature of Geoffrey Chaucer discovered in manuscripts of Thomas Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principium* (fig. 218).[950] This portrait of Chaucer was frequently reproduced throughout the eighteenth century. Richardson's friend, George Vertue, executed an engraving after the miniature, which was used as frontispiece for the 1721 edition of Chaucer by John Urry.[951] As Vertue's composition, Houbraken's engraved portrait of Chaucer in Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons* (1743) refers to this miniature.[952] Pope himself was in possession of a portrait drawing of Chaucer possibly the "grave old Chaucer [...] from Occleve", mentioned by Joseph Spence.[953] This portrait hung in Twickenham's "Little Parlour" at Pope's death.[954]

Celebrated as "one of the greatest as well as most antient of the English poets"[955] in the early eighteenth century, Chaucer's works had a forceful influence on Pope. Early in his career, Pope composed *The Temple of Fame* (1715), a brief and elegant paraphrase of Chaucer's *The House of Fame,*[956] which marks the beginning of the poet's lifelong obsession with fame.[957] In the *Temple of Fame,* Pope explores the uncertainty and insubstantiality of fame. In order to provide a conclusion to Chaucer's unfinished poem Pope adds an epilogue showing the "Moral to the whole." Being asked why he has come to the temple, Pope utters a frankly personal view on the implications of fame.

'Tis true', said I, 'not void of Hopes I came,

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948 Richardson 1715, 198.
949 See Wimsatt 1965, 163f.
950 The manuscripts of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principium* are in the British Library, London.
951 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Compared with the Former Editions, and Many Valuable MSS. [...] By John Urry,* London, 1721.
952 Birch 1743, 3.
953 Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men,* 1966, No. 108.
954 See the *Inventory of Pope's Goods Taken after his Death,* in: Mack, 1969, 255.
955 Birch 1743, 1.
956 Alexander Pope, *The Temple of Fame: a Vision,* London 1715.
957 Griffin 1978, 88, and Russo 1972, 133-175. For a survey of Pope's interest in fame, see Donald Fraser, 'Pope and the Idea of Fame', in: *Alexander Pope, Writers and their Background,* ed. by Peter Dixon, Athens 1972, 286–310.

For who so fond as youthful Bards of Fame?
But few alas! The casual Blessing boast,
So hard to gain, so easy to be lost:
How vain that second Life in others' Breath,
Th'Estate which Wits inherit after Death!
[...]
Nor Fame I slight, nor for her Favours call;
She comes unlook'd for, if she comes at all:
But if the Purchase costs so dear a Price,
A soothing Folly, or exalting Vice:
Oh! If the Muse must flatter lawless Sway,
And follows still where Fortune leads the way;
Or if no Basis bear my rising Name
But the fall'n Ruins of Another's Fame:
Then teach me, Heaven! To scorn the guilty Bays;
Drive from my Breast that wretched Lust of Praise;
Unblemish'd let me live, or die unknown,
Oh grant an honest Fame, or grant me none![958]

Pope's greatest fear was not to fail to gain fame but to gain it and then lose it; or to gain fame undeservedly. Despite these worries, the poem gives the impression that Pope self-assuredly assumes he, naturally, will receive and benefit from fame. This proud self-awareness resonates in Richardson's portrait of Pope in the role of Chaucer. Any well-read beholder of the portrait will recall these lines from *The Temple of Fame.* However, it is difficult to decide to what extent Richardson was inspired simply by Pope's poetical paraphrase of Chaucer's *House of Fame* or by the poet himself to represent him in the Chaucerian role.

The Cornell University Library also possesses a curious plumbago drawing by Richardson inscribed as "A. Pope, as Milton" written in Richardson Junior's hand (fig. 159). In 1738 Richardson made an etched version of this composition (fig. 158). In this profile portrait, in a medallion, the features of Pope appear to be merged with Milton's. While the chin and mouth look very much like those in a profile portrait of Pope (fig. 219), the nose and the eyes are clearly Milton's (fig. 155 and 156). However, beneath the head is visibly drawn the Greek name of Milton, 'ΜΙΛΤΩ'. Altogether, the features indeed have more in common with Richardson's portraits of Milton than those of Pope. Wimsatt observed the portrait might not have been intended so much by Richardson Senior as "A. Pope, as Milton", rather than "Milton *as* Pope", or a composite of Milton *and* Pope.[959] Richardson's undated etching of three heads on one plate show the artist indeed experimented with assimilating the heads of Pope and Milton (fig. 166) in order to create an ideal image. Next to the head of Milton adorned with the Homeric ribbon and

[958] Pope, *The Temple of Fame,* l. 501–6 and 513–24. See *Pope's Works,* 117f.
[959] Wimsatt 1965, 178.

the crowned head of Pope, Richardson etched a bare head without any particular features. By assimilating the two great poetic features, Richardson apparently tried to construct an ideal poetic profile. The parallel arrangement of the three heads provides insight into the artist's *modus operandi* of forming "a Model of Perfection in his Own Mind."[960]

The portrait of Pope as Milton, or of Milton as Pope, is unquestionably the pictorial result of Richardson's intense preoccupation with these poets' oeuvre, particularly with Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Pope's *Essay on Man.* Richardson's enthusiasm for *Paradise Lost* is well documented in *Explanatory Notes.* As Richardson admired *Paradise Lost* for its ethical design of mankind, he also developed a particular partiality for Pope's *Essay on Man* considering "*Man* in the abstract, his *Nature* and *State.*"[961] In the biographical introduction to *Explanatory Notes,* Richardson portrayed Milton as an extraordinary writer of genius who must have been provided with both a particular inspiration and aptitude to write a poem that "justifies the ways of God to Men."[962] In the painting representing the artist and his son in the presence of Milton, Richardson portrayed the bard as a saint illuminated by heavenly ray of light (fig. 165). That Richardson had a comparable admiration for Pope, who no longer justified but endeavoured "to vindicate the ways of God to Men"[963] is revealed in the artist's poem of praise, 'To the conceal'd author of an Essay on Man.'[964] In Richardson's view *Paradise Lost* and *An Essay on Man* resulted from the "Self-same Poetical Genius"[965], a genius that had the capacity to make us "ourselves to know."[966] It is this humanist aspect that fascinated Richardson and which he endeavoured to illustrate in the portraits of "Pope as Milton", or of "Milton as Pope", respectively.

'An Essay on Man'

An Essay on Man, published anonymously in 1733, played a particularly important role in Richardson's friendship with the poet.[967] Pope's correspondence tells us the Richardsons, father and son, spent hours with him intensely discoursing on moral-philosophical issues.[968] Yet to what extent Pope referred to Richardson's philosophical ideas is as

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960 Richardson 1715, 162.
961 *An Essay on Man,* The Design, l. 4-5, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 7.
962 Milton's *Paradise Lost,* book I, l. 26, in: *Milton's Poems,* 121.
963 Pope' *Essay on Man,* epistle I, l. 16, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 14.
964 Richardson 1776, 262f.
965 Richardson 1734, cxlix.
966 Pope, *An Essay on Man,* epistle IV, l. 398, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 166. See Griffin 1978, 127ff.
967 *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 326.
968 *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 160 and 485f.

difficult to answer as it is to define the more frequently discussed influence of Bolingbroke on *An Essay on Man.* Bolingbroke's role in the genesis of *An Essay on Man* is a fervently discussed topic among Pope and Bolingbroke scholars.[969] Virtually all biographers of both men have turned their attention to the question of influence. Views lie along a spectrum ranging from the assertion that Pope's *Essay* is simply a versification of a prose treatise written for him by Bolingbroke[970], to the counterclaim that Bolingbroke's moral essays were influenced by Pope's wealth of ideas.[971] It is impossible to answer the question of influence explicitly.

It is clear, however, that many philosophical aspects Pope addressed in *An Essay on Man* were commonplace in the early eighteenth century and widely discussed by empirically minded thinkers. It is at the same time unquestionable that Pope developed a particular veneration for Bolingbroke after he returned from his exile in France to England in 1723 and took up residence in Dawley Farm, near Uxbridge and not far from Twickenham.[972] In the following two decades Pope and Bolingbroke cultivated a particularly intimate friendship.[973] If we believe Joseph Warton's observations, Bolingbroke had a dominant influence on Pope in the early stages of their friendship. "Pope", Warton wrote, "indeed idolised him [Bolingbroke]: when in company with him, he appeared with all the deference and submission of an affectionate scholar."[974] In the course of his exile in France, Bolingbroke had changed from a frantically busy politician into a pensive philosopher extending his learning and deepening his power of reason.[975] Pope was fascinated by this change of personality. In 1735 Pope, full of admiration, wrote Joseph Spence, "Lord Bolingbroke is something superior to anything I have seen in human nature. You know I don't deal much in hyperboles: I quite think him what I say."[976] That Bolingbroke indeed must have been a fascinatingly strong-willed personality is also tangible in Richardson's etched and painted portraits of the philosopher (fig. 186). Particularly expressive is the etched profile of Bolingbroke with bare head, a portrait

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969 See Hammond 1984, 69ff.

970 See for example Adolphus William Ward's introduction to the Globe edition of Pope's *Poetical Works,* 1879, and more recently David Gwilym James, *The Life of Reason: Hobbes, Locke, Bolingbroke,* Freeport 1972 (reprint of 1949), 174ff.

971 See Mack's introduction to *An Essay on Man* in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1.

972 For biographical details of Bolingbroke see Simon Varey, *Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke,* Boston 1984. For Bolingbroke's philosophical thought see furthermore Bernard Cottret, *Bolingbroke: Exil et Écriture au Siècle des Lumières: Angleterre-France (vers 1715–vers 1750),* Paris 1992 (2 vols); James 1972, 174ff and William Warburton, *A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy,* London 1754–55 (3 vols).

973 See Hammond 1984, 2ff.

974 Warton 1782, II, 178.

975 See James 1972, 188ff.

976 Quoted in Hammond 1984, 3.

Richardson made on behalf of Pope (fig. 220).[977] Bold and irregular strokes model the characteristic features of the philosopher. The Latin inscription "*Nil Admirari*" is a quotation from Horace's *Sixth Epistle* describing a philosopher's serene state of mind, estimating all things calmly undisturbed by sensations and emotions: "*Nil admirari, propè res est una, Numici, Solaque, quae posit facere, & servare beatum.*" Dunster's English translation of 1709 reads: "The only Way, *Numicius*, to be happy, is to admire nothing."[978] This motto denotes not only Bolingbroke's philosophical attitude, it also alludes to Pope's *Imitations of Horace,* published between 1733 and 1738.[979] The etched profile of Bolingbroke was first published as frontispiece to Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King with Respect to the Constitution of Great Britain* of 1740.[980] Richardson's portraits refer not only to Bolingbroke's and Pope's world of ideas; they are, at the same time, silent witnesses to an extraordinary friendship between two powerful philosophical minds.

It is all the more remarkable that Richardson and his son were initiated into Pope's *Essay on Man* while even intimate friends such as Jonathan Swift were not. After the publication of the essay Swift, for instance, confessed surprise that Pope was "so deep in Morals."[981] Like many contemporaries Swift first attributed *An Essay on Man* to Edward Young.[982] Richardson, for his part, honoured the confidential knowledge of Pope's authorship in a private poem of praise, 'To the Concealed Author of An Essay on Man.'

> Yes, friend, thou art conceal'd; conceal'd but how?
> Ever the brightest, more refulgent now;
> By thy own beams betray'd! each nervous line,
> Each melting verse, each syllable, is thine,
> But such philosophy, such reason strong,
> Hath never yet adorn'd the loftiest song.[983]

Richardson's poem shows that it was both the philosophy—"such reason strong"—and the poetical fabric which made him "so partial" to *An Essay on Man.*[984] Being himself a writer, Richardson developed a particular interest in the complex implications of language. Not only does *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734) show that Richardson had a remarkable sensitivity to linguistic matters, but so

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977 See *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 123 and 128.
978 See Horace, *The Satires and Epistles [...] Done into English, with Notes. By S. Dunster,* London 1709, 294f.
979 See *Pope's Poems,* IV, introduction by John Butt. See furthermore Jacob Fuchs, *Reading Pope's Imitations of Horace,* Lewisburg 1989, esp. 124-128.
980 Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Idea of a Patriot King. With Respect to the Constitution of Great Britain,* London [1740].
981 *Pope's Correspondence,* IV 263.
982 *Pope's Correspondence,* IV, 153.
983 Richardson 1776, 262f.
984 See *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 326.

did his art-theoretical writings and poetical meditations.[985] Despite believing that "language is very Imperfect" compared to paintings—"Words paint to the Imagination but every Man forms the thing to himself in his own way"[986]—Richardson was enthused by the emotional impact of poetry on the reader. "The Hyperbolical, and Elevated Style of Poetry is an Improvement upon common Speech, as its Cadency, Numbers, and Rhimes more affect the Ear."[987] Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* show the artist understood poetry as a means not only to enlarge ideas but to preserve the flux of his thoughts.[988] Richardson wrote poetry in order to substantiate his way of thinking and understanding.

Many philosophical themes, which Pope addressed in *An Essay on Man,* are similarly subjects of Richardson's own poetical meditations. As early as 1711 Richardson pondered the nature of the human mind poetically in his *Hymn to God*[989], which is certainly not a literary masterpiece like Pope's *Essay on Man.* Yet akin to Pope, Richardson endeavoured to comprehend the principles of human understanding poetically while meditating the beauty and perfection of God's creation. Written in a very personal tone and from a private point of view, Richardson here refers to a number of philosophical commonplaces such as the great chain of being or the balance of self- and social love, which Pope also consumed poetically in *An Essay on Man.* It would be too naïve to suggest Pope took the painter's *Hymn to God* as a model for *An Essay on Man,* although there is a conspicuous similarity between a few lines.[990] It is very likely, however, that Pope discoursed about these philosophical matters with Richardson in the course of their "friendly & philosophical hours together"[991], as he did with Bolingbroke while roving through the "multiplied scenes" of his garden.

An Essay on Man clearly shows that, like Richardson and Bolingbroke, Pope was fascinated by the Lockean model of the human mind, implicating that all knowledge derives from sensory experience. Like Richardson, who made this aspect a structural component of his portrait drawings, Pope sensed a strong relevance of these philosophical ideas for literature.[992] Akin to Richardson's poems and portraits, Pope's

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[985] See Walsh 1997, 87.
[986] Richardson 1715, 5.
[987] Richardson 1722, 87.
[988] Richardson 1776, 62.
[989] Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fol. 9r ff.
[990] See Gibson-Wood 1989b, 88f.
[991] *Pope's Correspondence,* III, 485f.
[992] See MacLean 1984, 15.

Essay on Man dealt with Locke's concept of human understanding aesthetically. [993] He made Locke's epistemological precepts a structural matter of *Essay's* poetical language.[994]

Pope's *Essay on Man* is administered by aesthetic principles that also play a significant role in Richardson's poetical and pictorial oeuvre. Following Locke, who deemed visual perception an elementary feature of human understanding, Richardson and Pope both considered vision the most important of human senses.[995] Like Richardson's *Hymn to God* and *Morning Thoughts,* Pope's *Essay on Man* is a series of sensory ideas and images. Many statements are introduced with "See!" and "Look!" The description of the great chain of being at the beginning of epistle three, for instance, becomes a veritable visual debauch.

> Look round our World; behold the Chain of Love
> Combining all below and all above.
> See plastic Nature working to this end,
> The single atoms each to other tend,
> Attract, attracted to, the next in place
> Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.
> See Matter next, with various life endu'd,
> Press to one centre still, the gen'ral Good.
> See dying vegetables life sustain,
> See life dissolving vegetate again:
> All forms that perish other forms supply,
> By turns we catch the vital breath, and die
> Like bubbles on the sea of Matter born,
> They rise, they break, and to that sea return.
> Nothing is foreign: Parts relate to whole;
> One all-extending, all-preserving Soul
> Connects each being, greatest with the least;
> Made Beast in aid of Man, and Man of Beast;
> All serv'd, all serving! nothing stands alone;
> The chain holds on, and, where it ends, unknown.[996]

Pope not only set his idea of the great chain of being before the eyes of his audience like a finished picture, he marshalled impressions into a series of images. He called on the reader to perceive, think, and understand for himself. The reader is actively involved in *An Essay on Man.* To achieve this effect Pope chose a poetical language characterised by an extraordinary density of expression. The poem speaks, as Morris pointed out, "in a language of aphorisms, maxims, epigrams, axioms, adages, and

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[993] See in partivular Ernest Tuveson, '*An Essay on Man* and "The Way of Ideas"', in: *English Literary History* 27.3 (1959), 358–386. Tuveson shows the Lockean model of the mind lies at the very heart of Pope's *Essay on Man* and affected the fabric of his poetry. See also William Bowman Piper, *Reconcilable Differences in Eighteenth-Century Literature,* Newark & London 1999, 113ff.; Morris 1984, 152ff, and Brett 1960, 51ff.
[994] Morris 1984, 160ff.
[995] See Morris 1984, 172ff.
[996] *An Essay on Man,* epistle III, l. 7–26, in: *Pope's Poems,* III.1, 92–94.

sententiae."[997] As in gnomic literature, where truth identifies itself by its simplicity and its unadorned purity of form, *An Essay on Man* speaks the language of aphorism in order to not only use its memorability but to preserve perspicuity and precision of his argument.[998] Pope explained in the preface to *An Essay on Man* why he had chosen verse and rhyme for this "short yet not imperfect System of *Ethics*."

> This I might have done in Prose; but I chose Verse and even Rhyme for two Reasons. The one will appear obvious; that principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly first, and are more easily retain'd by him afterwards. The other may seem odd, but is true; I found I could express them more *shortly* this way than in Prose itself; and nothing is truer than that much of the *Force*, as well as the *Grace* of Arguments or Instructions depends on their Conciseness. I was unable to treat this part of my subject more in detail, without becoming dry and tedious: or more *poetically*, without sacrificing Perspicuity to Ornament, without wandering from the Precisions, or breaking the Chain of Reasoning.[999]

An aphoristic style does not only mean rhetorical completeness but inexplicitness and fragmentation.[1000] "Aphorisms representing a knowledge broken", observed Francis Bacon in *Advancement of Learning* (1605), "do invite men to enquire farther."[1001] Similarly to Richardson, who intensely examined this "knowledge broken" in his portraits and poems, Pope used the fragmentary effect of aphorisms to make the reader aware of the limitations of his rational capacities. As he woke up St. John in the first epistle to perceive the labyrinthine perplexities of the universe,[1002] he invited the reader to become aware of his "knowledge broken" by constantly stimulating his sensuous impressions through a sequence of erratic images. By means of his apocryphic style, Pope confronts the reader with the fragments of his own understanding.

> Say first, of God above, or Man below,
> What can we reason, but from what we know?
> Of Man what see we, but his station here,
> From which to reason, or to which refer?
> Thro' worlds unumber'd tho the God be known,
> 'tis ours to trace him only in our own.[1003]

Like the fragmentary and investigative nature of Richardson's portraits and poems, Pope's apocryphic style in *An Essay on Man* subsumes John Locke's epistemological concept of the "train of ideas." Addison, who understood himself a spokesman of Locke's philosophy, transferred the Lockean "train of ideas" into an intelligible method

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[997] See Morris 1984, 161.
[998] See Morris 1984, 161ff.
[999] Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, London 1745, 20. See also *Pope's Poems*, III.1, 7.
[1000] See Morris 1984, 161ff.
[1001] Quoted in Morris 1984, 165.
[1002] *An Essay on Man*, epistle I, l. 1ff, in: *Pope's Poems*, III.1, 11.
[1003] *An Essay on Man*, epistle I, l. 17–22, in: *Pope's Poems*, III.1, 14f.

of reasoning.[1004] Yet while Addison represented the Lockean "train of thoughts" as a reliable method to arrive at knowledge, Pope applied this philosophical scheme only to point out the limits of human understanding as Richardson experienced in his portraits and poems. As Richardson employed painting, Pope used poetry as a means to aesthetisise the limits of man's intellectual capacities. Man is "Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err", summarised Pope lucidly in the second epistle.[1005] Inherent to these philosophical ideas is Bolingbroke's deep scepticism in the reliability of the human mind. Bolingbroke frankly stated that all error starts with "the high opinion we are apt to entertain of the human mind, tho it holds, in truth, a very low rank in the intellectual systems."[1006] However, while Bolingbroke's disbelief in the rational capacities of the human mind was severe scepticism, Pope and Richardson accepted the inadequacies of human understanding and made it a structural component of their arts. Both used poetry or painting, respectively, as a means to experience the nature of the human mind. Yet while Pope wrote *An Essay on Man* for a public audience, Richardson's poems and portraits originate in the artist's private need to record his thoughts and ideas without the intention of publication.

More explicit than most of Richardson's works the series of etched, drawn, and painted portraits of Pope disclose the ambivalent nature of the face painter's oeuvre. Highly imaginative drawings and etchings alternate with conventionally painted portraits. Many of the traditional paintings clearly illustrate the great extent to which a face painter's creativity was subdued due to social constraints in the early eighteenth century. More importantly, Richardson's drawn and etched portraits also show that extraordinary creativity was possible and that painting and drawing not only meant a steady income or leisurely pastime activity. The comparison to Pope's poetry makes evident that both literature and the visual arts originate from the artist's intense preoccupation with philosophical thought: Comparable to Pope's *Essay on Man* Richardson's series of portraits are *pictorial essays* on the fragmentary nature of human understanding.

[1004] *Spectator*, No. 531.
[1005] *An Essay on Man*, epistle II, l. 10, in: *Pope's Poems*, III.1, 10.
[1006] Bolingbroke 1754, III, 328.

VII. Conclusion

'It hath been thought a vast Commendation of a Painter,
to say his Figures seem to breathe; but surely, it is a much greater
and nobler Applause, that they appear to think.'
(Henry Fielding, 1742)

It has been the main aim of this thesis to demonstrate that Locke's philosophical ideas substantially permeated Richardson's creativity as poet and painter. This work has shown that, while Richardson accepted Locke's empiricism as a logical basis for his theory of painting and science of connoisseurship—as Gibson-Wood's research has shown—, he responded to the philosopher's ideas differently and more critically as a creative artist. Independent from social commitments and economic liabilities Richardson created, during the last two decades of his life, a poetical and pictorial oeuvre which actually appears to call his own aesthetic tenets into question. The more Richardson looked into Locke's concept of human understanding, the more he became aware of its uncertainties and deficiencies. It is, however, only during the late 1720s and early 1730s that the artist's struggle with Locke's philosophy turned into a powerful source of creativity. This comparative analysis of Richardson's oeuvre shows that his anthology of poems and his extraordinary sequences of portraits are a result of his intense preoccupation with Locke's concept of the human mind.

In describing visual arts as an aesthetic means to convey "Ideas [...] clearly, and without Ambiguity"[1007], Richardson disclosed himself as Lockean to the core. In his eyes, Locke's theory of visual perception brought forth the key issue of the visual arts as a means of conveying ideas. Richardson was enthused by Locke's epistemological concept, which described thinking as a matter of perceiving. Being the most direct and tangible result of visual perception, the visual arts are, according to Richardson, entitled to play a serious role as means of communication. Throughout his art-theoretical writings Richardson therefore endeavoured to demonstrate that painting and sculpture are more than "a pleasant, innocent Amusement", namely "another Language, which completes the whole Art of communicating our Thoughts."[1008] Richardson understood painting as a pictorial accomplishment of the artist's perceptive capacity. As a connoisseur, a painter, Richardson believed, "*must know how, and Accustom himself to Take in, Retain, and Manage, Clear and Distinct Ideas.*"[1009] Thus, Richardson is no longer focusing on the object seen, but

[1007] Richardson 1715, 6.
[1008] Richardson 1715, 4.
[1009] Richardson 1719 I, 200.

on the process of seeing and imagining itself. Akin to Addison in his influential essays on the *Pleasures of Imagination* (1711), Richardson's focus shifts from the work to the mind, from canvas and page to the imagination.

This interdisciplinary study of Richardson's oeuvre shows that the more Richardson dealt with the nature of seeing as a purely objective process in terms of Locke's empiricist epistemology, the more he became aware of the unfathomable depths of the human mind that must have shaken his faith in the Lockean concept. As we have seen, Richardson was saddened and disturbed by the realisation that secondary thought made any form of empirical certainty impossible. Richardson's sceptical approach to Locke's model of the human mind is first adumbrated in the philosophical digressions integrated in his art theories. In these excursions, Richardson essentially anticipated David Hume's scepticism in the liabilities of human knowledge. As early as 1715, Richardson observed that "there are not two Men in the World who at this instant, or at any other time, have exactly the same Set of Ideas, nor any one man that has the same Set twice, or This Moment, as he had the last: For Thoughts obtrude themselves, and pass along in the Mind continually as the Rivers."[1010] In the following years Richardson consciously used painting and, in particular, drawing and etching as a medium to investigate the nature of the human mind. While his learned contemporaries put their experiences, observations, and thoughts down in writing, thus developing the essay as a literary form to new heights, Richardson attempted to do the same in painting.

As this work has shown, the most distinctive feature of Richardson's pictorial and poetical oeuvre is the sequential nature of these works and their tentative sketchiness. While the poems are reminiscent of some sort of diary, the drawings constitute a series of experiments. The subject of these experiments is the artist's capacity of reasoning. Any single drawing makes the act of perceiving and drawing visible as a persistently alternating process. Richardson's poems—composed parallel to the sequences of drawings—prove he considered his drawings and etchings a means to grasp the flow of his thoughts as they "pass along in the Mind continually as the Rivers."[1011] Richardson made the process of reasoning itself the subject of a number of these poems. "I think, and think, and what I think, I write", Richardson wrote in the May 1734 poem "The Use of my Writing."[1012] Poetry thus became a means to substantiate thoughts and the process of thinking. The same rationale applies to Richardson's sequences of drawings.

[1010] Richardson 1715, 135.
[1011] Richardson 1715, 135.
[1012] Richardson 1776, 63.

Richardson's attempt to transmute his thinking into substance is most explicitly illustrated in his series of self-portraits, as chapter three shows. The interdisciplinary comparison of drawings and poems shows Richardson's interest in portraying his *self* originates not so much from egotism but from an enlightened scepticism in the reliability of his own perceptive and cognitive faculties. In the series of self-portraits Richardson represents himself obsessively scrutinising his appearance in the mirror as he endeavours to weigh the objective appearance in the looking glass against his subjective self-awareness. Richardson does not simply represent himself in the role of the empirical thinker, but attempted to visualise the process of thinking itself.

Thinking is also substantiated in Richardson's series of portraits of his son, but in a different mode, as shown in chapter four. Richardson's portraits of his son originate from their intense collaboration on their co-authored publications, *An Account* (1722) and *Explanatory Notes* (1734). Like Richardson's self-portrait drawings, most of the portrait drawings of his son are focused on the head and the facial expression. The process of perceiving itself is implicit in the process of drawing, yet it is not as obviously and in its essence structural as in Richardson's self-portraits. Richardson exercised his own perceptive capacity to investigate the appearance of his son lost in thought. The portraits of his son appear to be altogether more composed and, at the same time, more distant than Richardson's self-portraits. Some portraits represent Richardson Junior in deliberately chosen poses, such as in the classical pose of the thinker. In these portraits the process of perceiving becomes gradually overshadowed by the artist's creative imagination. Thinking is no longer the structural component of drawing, but develops into a matter of iconic interpretation.

The dialectics of perceiving and imagining continue in Richardson's series of drawn and etched portraits of Milton and Pope, as I have shown in chapters five and six. Richardson's portraits and biography of Milton are correlated with the artist's humanist interpretation of *Paradise Lost* as the history of mankind. Both portraits and biography are characterised by the painter's attempt to humanise Milton as much as to glorify the author of *Paradise Lost.* Among Richardson's portraits of Milton, there are sketchy studies after original busts and portraits, which resemble Richardson's uncomposed and investigative self-portraits, next to highly finished plumbago portrait drawings of the poet cluttered with symbolic emblems. While Richardson used the sketchy studies as a means to examine the poet's mind and to acquire historical understanding, the more finished portrait drawings are consciously composed images. Richardson's sequence of portraits

of Milton illustrates in the most tangible way the painter's creative attainment of nature. However, this creative process is not original *per se;* unique is the manner in which Richardson knowingly executed such a large number of drawings and deliberately preserved all his studies in order to illustrate the creative process, the artist's way of thinking.

This aspect also applies to Richardson's series of portraits of Pope, where anyone can see "the Steps the Master took, the Materials with which he made his finish'd Paintings."[1013] It was in the course of their "friendly and philosophical hours together" that Richardson made the sketchy studies of Pope, which are—like the self-portrait drawings—entirely focused on the poet's facial features. While conversing on philosophical, aesthetic, and literary matters Richardson portrayed his poet friend. The exchange of thoughts and drawing are mutually conditional. Based on these studies, which are the pictorial result of the artist's attempt to grasp the momentary states of the poet's mind, Richardson later began to compose the more finished plumbago drawings representing Pope in different poetical roles. In so doing, Richardson reflected upon his own sensations, which he had preserved in the portrait sketches. Thus Richardson's sequence of portraits of Pope demonstrates that artistic creativity is nothing but a process of consciously selecting and abstracting sense impressions, a process John Locke described as the "train of ideas" in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*

In turning the process of perceiving into a matter of artistic creativity, Richardson indeed implemented Locke's empiricist epistemology in his practice as a portrait painter. However, it is particularly the sequential nature of Richardson's portraits that illustrates the artist's sceptical approach to Locke's concept of human understanding. As a visual artist, Richardson was particularly sensitive to the process of perception, as this study has shown. More intensely than many empirically minded thinkers of his age, Richardson felt the limits of human understanding. "Feeble our eyes, glimmering our light", thus Richardson deplored the limitations of human perceptive faculties, only to conclude the only truth we "possess secure" is faith.[1014] Like many enlightened thinkers, Richardson was torn apart by the ambiguities Locke's model of the human mind had in store. Yet Richardson not only discoursed on these uncertainties theoretically, but implemented them in his poetical and pictorial oeuvre. Far from merely representing "the good sense of the nation", as which his pictorial oeuvre has been denounced[1015], Richardson's

[1013] Richardson 1715, 140.
[1014] Richardson 1776, 24.
[1015] Walpole 1786, IV, 31.

graphic oeuvre thus shows a different quality and far greater appeal. In its experimental, sequential and recursive structure Richardson reveals himself as a true artist of the Enlightenment.

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DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, London: Oxford University Press, 1949-50 (reprint of original edition of 1885-1904) (66 vols).
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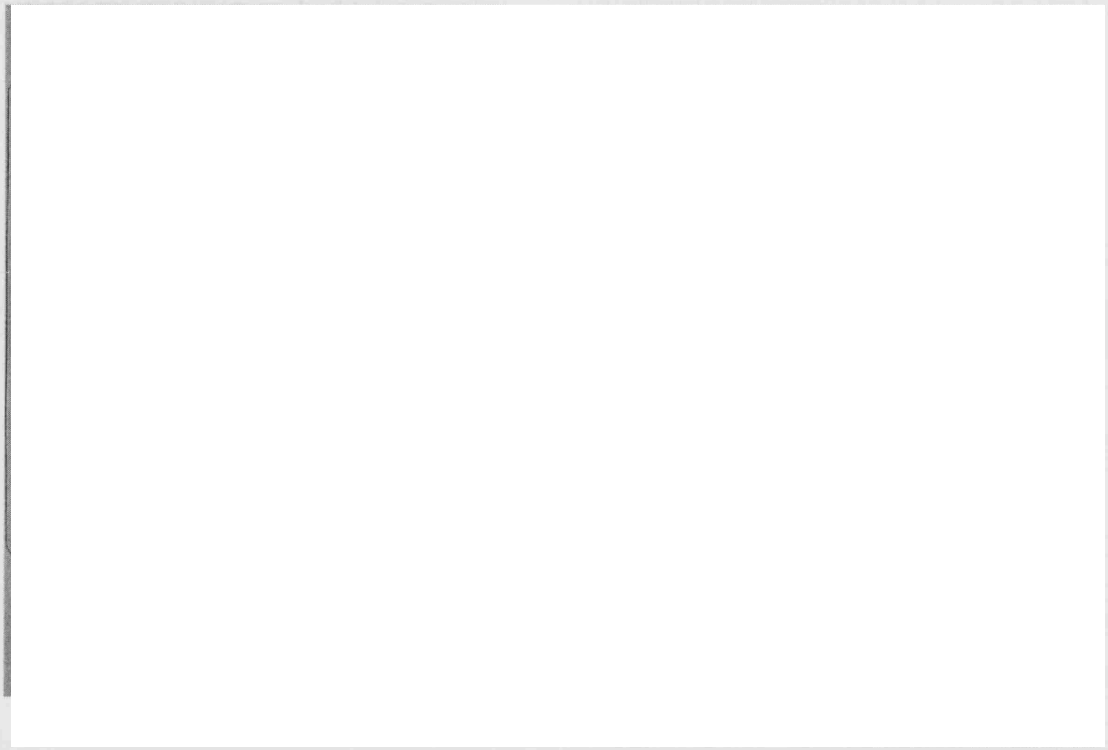
Illustrations

1 Jonathan Richardson, *John Locke,* c. 1690, brush drawing in grey wash on paper, 17.8 x 18.3 cm, British Museum, London.

2 Jonathan Richardson, *King Charles II*, c. 1689, brush drawing in grey wash on paper, 20 x 15.9 cm, detail, British Museum, London.



3 Jonathan Richardson (after Riley), *Gilbert Burnet,* 1690, pen and black wash over pencil, 29.9 x 26.5 cm, The Huntington Library, San Marino (CA).

4 John Smith (after Richardson/Riley), *Gilbert Burnet*, 1690, mezzotint, 37 x 27 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery, London.

5 Jonathan Richardson (attributed), *Theodor Haak*, c.1690, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm, Royal Society, London.

6 Jonathan Richardson (after Riley), *John Riley*, 31 Dec. 1734, graphite on vellum, 17.3 x 14.1 cm, British Museum, London.

7 Jonathan Richardson, *Sir Robert Clayton*, 1706, oil on canvas, 243 x 164 cm, Drapers' Hall, London.

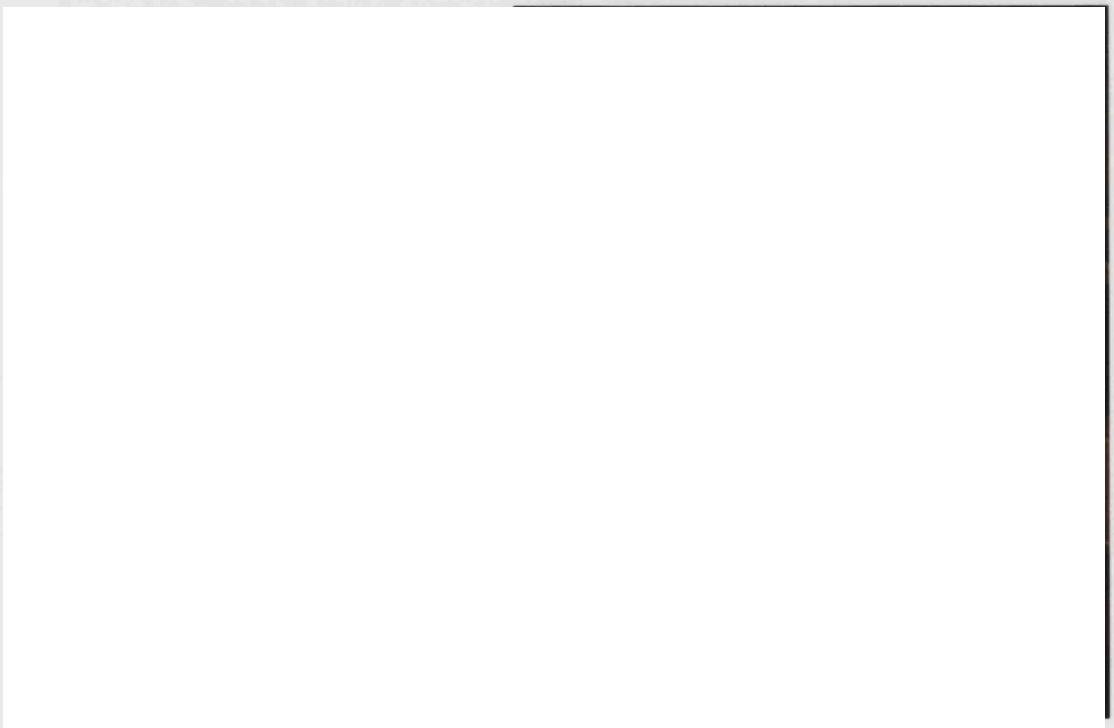
8 Jonathan Richardson, *Sir Richard Steele*, 1712, oil on canvas, 126.4 x 101.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

9 Jonathan Richardson, *John Lord Somers*, c. 1714, oil on canvas, 124 x 100.5 cm, present location unknown (art market: Sotheby's London 10 July 1996, lot 27).

10 Jonathan Richardson (attributed), *Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, c. 1725, oil on canvas, 94 x 57 cm, Sandon Hall, Staffordshire.

11 Jonathan Richardson, *Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington and 4th Earl of Cork*, c. 1717, oil on canvas, 146.1 x 116.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

12 Jonathan Richardson, *Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford*, c. 1725, oil on canvas, 75.6 x 62.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.



13 George Vertue (after Richardson), *Matthew Prior,* 1719, line engraving, 36.8 x 26.7 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery, London.

14 Thomas Hudson (after Richardson), *Matthew Prior,* c. 1718, oil on canvas, 102.2 x 87.2 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

15 Jonathan Richardson, *Thomas Hudson,* undated, red chalk touched with white on blue paper, 46.3 x 30.2 cm, British Museum, London. The inscription recto is by Horace Walpole.

16 Jonathan Richardson and John Wootton, *Sir Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford*, c. 1724, oil on canvas, 152.4 x 146.7 cm, Castle Cholmondeley, Cheshire.

17 John Simon (after Kneller), *Sir Richard Steele,* 1712, mezzotint, 35.4 x 25.1 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery, London.

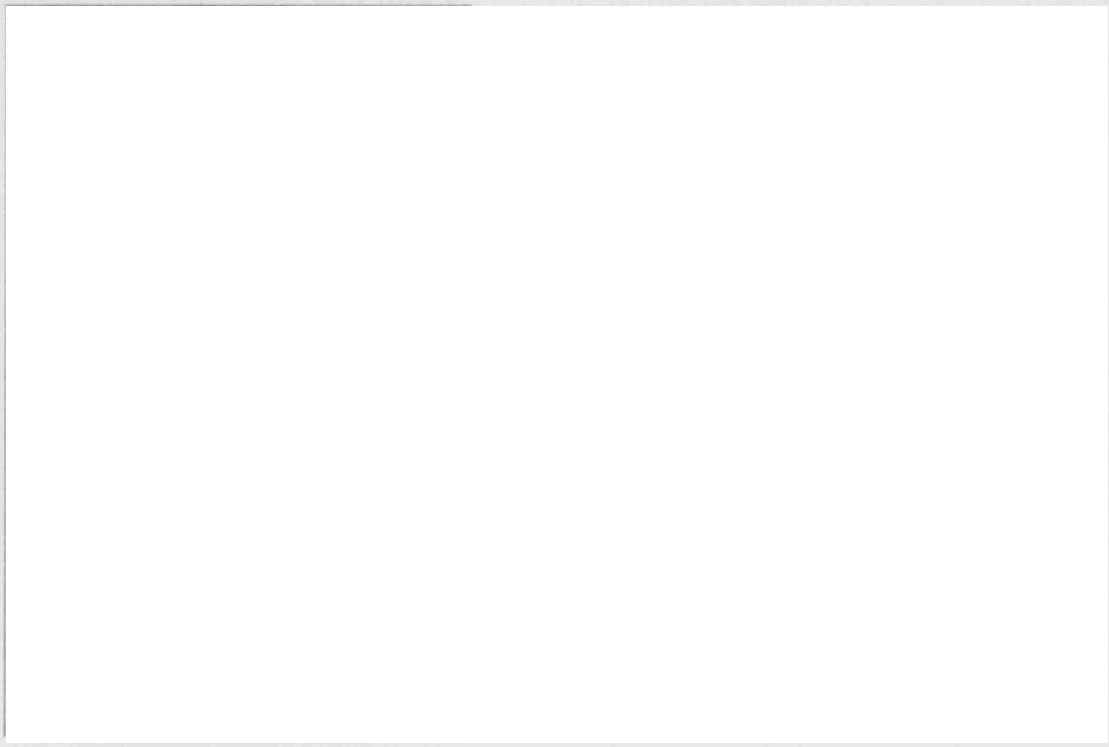
18 John Smith (after Richardson), *Sir Richard Steele,* 1712, engraving, 34.5 x 25 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery, London.

19 George Vertue (after Thornhill), *Sir Richard Steele,* 1712, engraving, 21.5 x 14 cm, (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery; London.

20 Jonathan Richardson, *Hymn to God,* 1711/12, fol. 3 recto, British Library, London.

21 Jonathan Richardson (after Raphael), *Pope Julius II*, undated, graphite on vellum, 15.3 x 12.9 cm, British Museum, London.

22 Jonathan Richardson (after Van Dyck), *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford*, 18 Aug. 1738, graphite on vellum, 15.9 x 13 cm, British Museum, London.



23 Jonathan Richardson, *Ralph Palmer,* c. 1735, pen on paper, 18.2 x 11.5 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (NY).

24 Jonathan Richardson (after Kneller), *Isaac Newton*, c. 1733, graphite on vellum, 13.4 x 11.9 cm, British Museum, London.

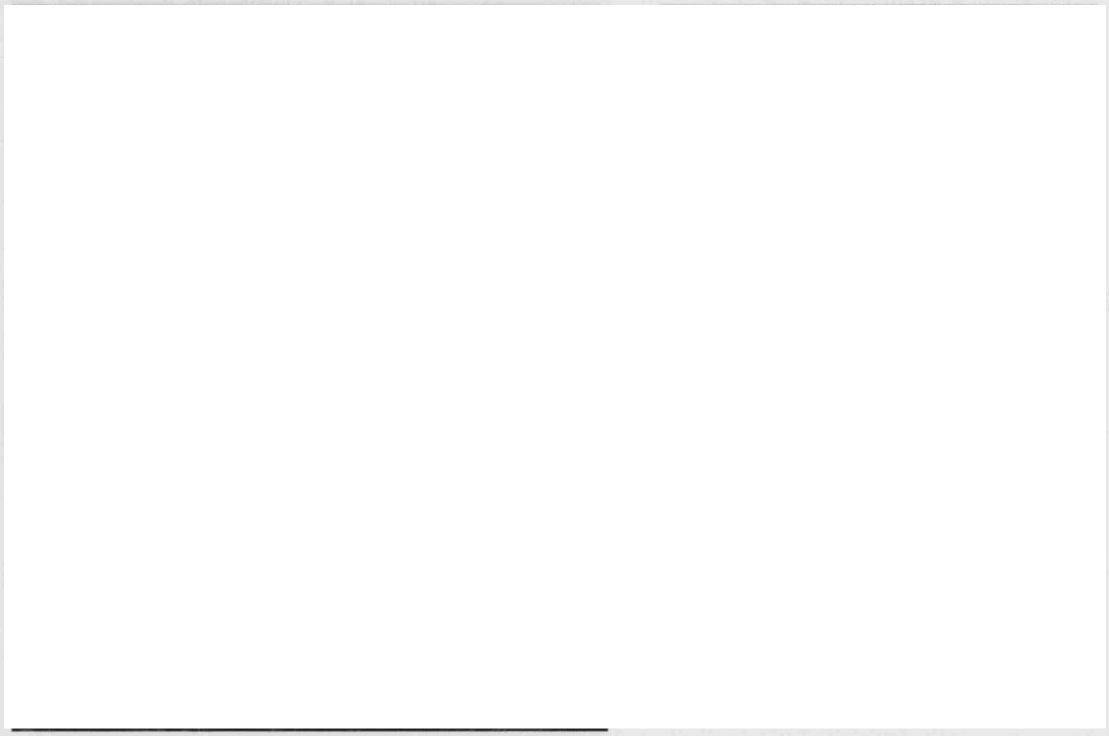
25 Jonathan Richardson *Sir Hans Sloane*, 1740, graphite on vellum, 13.3 x 10.8 cm, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (CT).

26 Jonathan Richardson, *Dr. Richard Mead*, 1739, black lead on vellum, 14.5 x 14 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

27 Jonathan Richardson *William Cheselden*, c. 1735, black and red chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 47.6 x 32 cm, British Museum, London.

28 Jonathan Richardson *Francesco Algarotti*, 1736, graphite on vellum, 15.8 x 13.3 cm, Tate Collection, London.

29 Jonathan Richardson, *Gerard Wigmana,* 1730s, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 30.5 x 23 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



30 Jonathan Richardson, *Martin Folkes,* c. 1735, oil on canvas, 76 x 63 cm, (art market: Sotheby's London 14 July 1999, lot 91).

31 Jonathan Richardson, *Martin Folkes,* 18 Dec. 1735, graphite on vellum, 17.9 x 13.4 cm, British Museum, London.

32a Claude Lorrain, *Landscape* (recto), c. 1645, pen and grey wash, 22.6 x 18.4 cm, British Museum, London.

32b Claude Lorrain, *Head Studies* (verso), c. 1645, pen and grey wash, 22.6 x 18.4 cm, British Museum, London.

33a After Leonardo da Vinci, *Head of a Warrior,* black chalk on greyish paper, undated, 50.5 x 37.5 cm (irregular shape), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

33b A piece of old backing with Richardson Senior's inscription attached to the back of the study after da Vinci. The inscription beneath a quotation from Vasari's Life of Leonardo da Vinci reads: "That this is the Head of that Soldier appears by th[e] Coppy of an old Drawing of this part of the Work, & w[ch] is not of the hand of Leonardo, but some good Mast[r] of that time or soon after; for This Carton together with another made by Michelangelo was the usual Study of the Painters at Florence, & of Rafaelle amongst the rest before his going to Rome: the Coppy I have put herewith. This Head 'tis exceeding probable is part of that famous Original Carton." The head corresponds with that of a warrior, designed by Leonardo for his projected fresco of the 'Battle of Anghiari' in the Palazzo della Signoria, Florence.

34a Pier Francesco Mola, *Head of a Bearded Man,* black, red and some touches of yellow chalk, 25.2 x 21.5 cm, British Museum, London. The inscription recto in Richardson Senior's hand reads: "Francesco Mola. / A disciple of Albani, had an agreeable and pleasant Style / of Drawing. Born: 1609. Died 1665 Aet. 56 / 457".

34b Richardson's class-mark on the back of Mola's *Head of a Bearded Man.*

35 Rembrandt.van Rijn, *Two Studies of Old Men's Heads,* c. 1639, pen and brown ink, 8.1 x 9.4 cm, British Museum, London.

36 Jean Morin, *Marguerite Lemon,* undated, etching with engraving, Konstmuseet Ateneum, Helsinki.

37 After Anthony van Dyck, *Frances Brydges, Wife of the 2nd Earl of Exeter,* undated, oil on canvas, 134.4 x 105 cm, Burghley House, Stamford.

38 Score-card for evaluating pictures, in Richardson's *Two Discourses* (1719), vol. I, 70, British Library, London.

39 Jonathan Richardson, *Dr. Richard Mead,* 5 Oct. 1738, red and black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 43.2 x 25.7 cm, British Museum, London.

40 Jonathan Richardson, *William Cheselden*, c. 1735, pencil on vellum, 14 x 11.8 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

41 Gerard Vandergucht, *An Artist Using the Camera Obscura,* etching with engraving, frontispiece to Cheselden's *Osteographia* (1733), British Library, London.

42 Gerard Vandergucht, *The Skeleton of a Man, in the Same Proportions and Attitudes with the Apollo Belvedere,* etching with engraving, 50.5 x 33.5 cm, from Cheselden's *Osteographia* (1733), plate 35, British Library, London.

43 Gerard Vandergucht, *Praying Skeleton, in Profile,* etching with engraving, 50.5 x 33.5 cm, from Cheselden's *Osteographia* (1733), plate 36, British Library, London.

44 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Kneeling Man Praying by a Sick Person*, c. 1655, pen and wash, 19 x 20 cm, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

45 Jonathan Richardson, *William Melmoth*, c. 1734, lead on vellum, 16 x 13 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

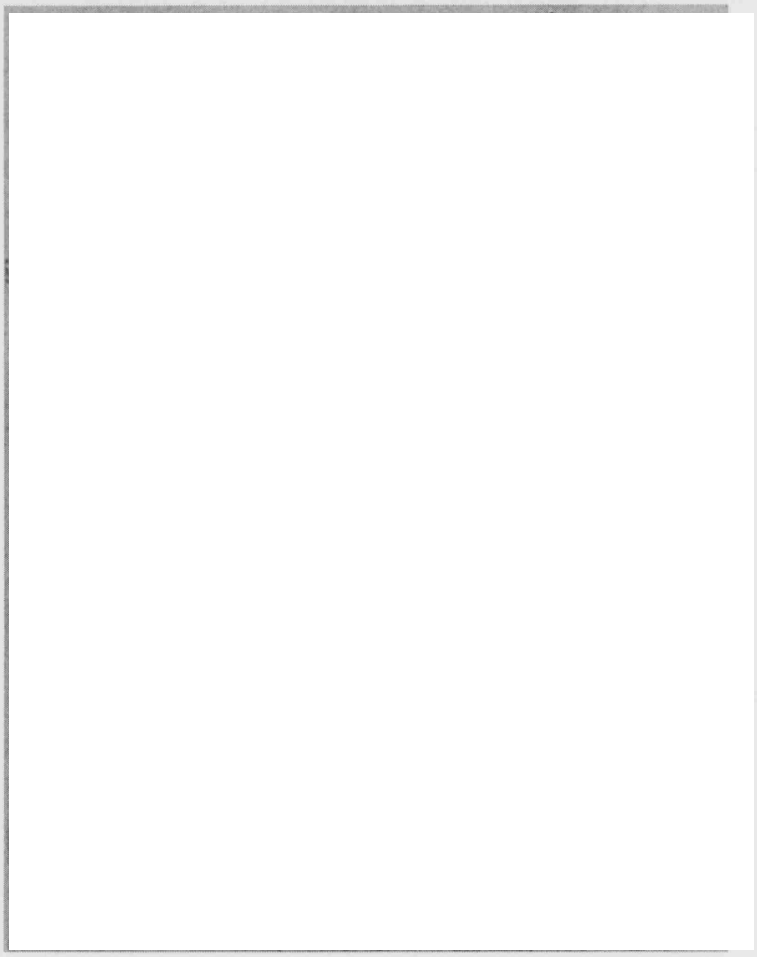
46 Jonathan Richardson, *Samuel Say*, 1739, lead on vellum, 16 x 12.3 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (NY).

47 Andrea Mantegna, *A Bird on a Branch Catching a Fly*, late 1460s, pen and brown ink, 12.8 x 8.8 cm, British Museum, London.

48 Giulio Romano, *Head of a Fish*, 1530s, pen an brown ink, 5.1 x 3.7 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

49 Giulio Romano, *Dead Fish Lying on its Side*, 1530s, pen and brown ink, 3.2 (irregularly trimmed) x 7.2 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

50 Jonathan Richardson, *Michael Rysbrack,* undated, lead pencil on vellum, 19.4 x 14.3 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.



51 Jonathan Richardson, *Sir James Thornhill,* 21 July 1733, pen and brown ink on oiled paper, 23.6 x 17.8 cm, British Museum, London.

52 Jonathan Richardson, *Sir James Thornhill*, 1733, lead on vellum, 14.4 x 12.1 cm, British Museum, London.

53 Sir James Thornhill, *Design for the Frontispiece of the 'Vinegar Bible'*, c. 1715, pen and ink and wash, 21.2 x 13.3 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

54 Sir James Thornhill, *A View of Harwich*, 1711, pen and ink, 13 x 18.7 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Inscribed in ink by Thornhill: "A View of Harwich taken from y^{e} Cliff S.E. of y^{e} Town May. y^{e} 24th: 1711".

55 Sir James Thornhill (after Raphael's Tapestry Cartoon), *St. Paul Preaching at Athens,* 1729-31, oil on canvas, 168.3 x 220 cm, Columbia University of the City of New York (NY).

56a Sir James Thornhill (after Raphael), *The Sacrifice of Lystra*, c. 1729-31, from an album of 162 drawings after Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons, c. 11.5 x 17 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

56b Sir James Thornhill (after Raphael), *The Lame Man Healed*, c. 1729-31, from an album of 162 drawings after Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons, c. 11.5 x 17 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

57a Sir James Thornhill (after Raphael), *Elymas Struck with Blindness*, c. 1729, brush and brown ink, 35.5 x 25.4 cm, from an album of tracings, St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

57b Sir James Thornhill (after Raphael), *Elymas Struck with Blindness*, c. 1729, brush and brown ink, 35.5 x 25.4 cm, from an album of tracings, St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

58 After Raphael, *'Arrogance Dejected'* and *'Astonishment and Doubt'*, 1759, engraving, from Boydell's *School of Raphael,* London 1759, plate 26, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (CT).

59 Jonathan Richardson (after Lely), *Oliver Cromwell,* 20 June 1739, pen and brown ink and wash over black chalk, 22.9 x 18 cm, British Museum, London.

60 Sir Peter Lely, *Oliver Cromwell,* c. 1654, oil on canvas, 77.5 x 62.9 cm, City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.

61 Jonathan Richardson (after Bower), *Charles I at his Trial,* 20 May 174[?], black lead on vellum, 16 x 10.8 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

62 Jonathan Richardson (after a plaster cast attributed to Bernini), *Charles I,* undated black lead on vellum, 20 x 15 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

63 Jacobus Houbraken (after Holbein the Younger), *Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk*, 1735, engraving 36.7 x 23.2 cm (plate mark), from Birch's *Illustrious Heads* (1743), 31, Graphische Sammlung, Zentralbibliothek Zurich.

64 Jonathan Richardson, *George Vertue,* 1733, black and red chalks heightened with white on blue paper, 35.5 x 30 cm, Society of Antiquaries, London.

65 Jonathan Richardson, *George Vertue,* 1733, oil on canvas, 74.9 x 62.2 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

66 Jacobus Houbraken (after Holbein the Younger), *John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,* from Birch's *Illustrious Heads* (1743), 11, Graphische Sammlung, Zentralbibliothek Zurich.

67 Hans Holbein the Younger, *John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,* ink, black and coloured chalks on pink paper, 38.2 x 23.2 cm, Royal Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, Windsor Castle, London.

68 Jonathan Richardson, (probably after a portrait by Richardson, painted in 1724) *Elizabeth Richardson,* 1730s, lead on vellum, 16.5 x 12 cm, present location unknown.

69 Jonathan Richardson, *Elizabeth Richardson,* 1730s, lead on vellum, 16.5 x 12 cm, present location unknown.

ON MY LATE DEAR WIFE.

ADIEU, dear life! here am I left alone,
The world is ſtrangely chang'd ſince thou art gone.
Compoſe thyſelf to reſt, all will be well;
I'll come to bed "as faſt as poſſible."
Jan. 18, 1725-6.

"As faſt as poſſible" was an expreſſion ſo frequent with him, that my dear mother uſed to make herſelf and him, now and then, merry with rallying him on this perpetual proof of the activity of his ſpirit; ſo that it has an affecting propriety here.

IX.

ON THE SAME.

MY early crayon drew this virgin face;
Though love aſſiſted, 'tis not what her's was;
Correcter features her's, and far more grace!
Then dawn'd a ſummer's day; its ſetting ſun
Is dropp'd, and quiet night is haſt'ning on.

But the cool breezes of the evening may
Be as delightful as the brighteſt day.

There's good and ill in ev'ry ſcene of life,
And happineſs may be without a wife;
Who knows to live hath learn'd the nobleſt art,
And he acts beſt who beſt ſuſtains his part;
What that muſt be belongs to other pow'rs;
To yield to them, and act it well, is ours.

She was born on Lord Mayor's day, and died on her own birth-day, æt. 51. Theſe verſes were paſted on the back of a drawing of her in black chalk, made before they were married.

X.

ON THE SAME.

THEE I poſſeſs'd full three and thirty years,
Dear partner of my joys, griefs, hopes, and fears!
I have not loſt thee now, beyond that date
The gift reverted to the hands of fate.
Mine thou wert not! as juſtly might I claim
The riches, beauty, learning, wit, or fame,
Or what's belonging to another name.
Great was the gift, and I will ever praiſe
The goodneſs which ſo ſweeten'd half my days;
The other half, and what is ſtill behind,
I had my comforts, and ſhall comforts find,
For Providence for ever will be kind.

Whate'er

70 Jonathan Richardson, 'On my Dear Late Wife', 1726, poems from Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* (1776), 174-5, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

71 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 4 May 1728, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 48.3 x 30.5 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

72 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 13 July 1728, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 45.3 x 29.7 cm, British Museum, London.

73 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, c. 1728, red chalk heightened with white on buff paper 45.1 x 30.1 cm, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

74 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait,* 12 Jan. 1733, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 46.6 x 30.1 cm, British Museum, London.

75 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 30 Aug. 1733, black and red chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 40.5 x 30.1 cm, British Museum, London.

76 Jonathan Richardson, *Profile Self-portrait, in a Cap,* c. 1733, black and red chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 39.7 x 25.7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

77 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait,* Oct. 1735, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 32.8 x 26.1 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

78 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 24 Aug. 1736, lead on vellum, 14.1 x 11 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

79 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 31 Aug. 1736, lead on vellum, 13.5 x 10.4 cm, British Museum, London.

80 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 1735, graphite on vellum, 10 x 7.8 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

81 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait Wearing a Night-cap*, 21 Feb. 1736, lead on vellum, 22.1 x 19.3 cm, British Museum, London.

82 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait in Profile*, 17 Dec. 1734, lead on vellum, 12.3 x 11.3 cm, British Museum, London.

83 Jonathan Richardson (probably after a painted self-portrait), *Self-portrait at the Age of Twenty-five*, 31 Jan. 1735, lead on vellum, 13.5 x 10.4 cm, British Museum, London.

84 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 15 Jan. 1736, ink over pencil on paper, 16 x 11.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

85 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 15 June 1734, ink over pencil on paper, 11 x 7 cm, present location unknown (art market: Sotheby's London 11 July 1991, lot 28)

86 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, late 1730s, ink over graphite on paper, 14.7 x 9 cm, British Museum, London.

87 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait,* 1738, etching, 20.4 x 14.5 cm (paper size), Private Collection, London.

88 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 7 Oct. 1736, ink over pencil on paper, 13 x 10.2 cm, present location unknown.

89 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, undated, pencil on vellum, 18.1 x 13.3 cm, The Huntington Library, San Marino (CA).

90 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, c. 1707, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm, present location unknown, exhibited in the Sabin Galleries, London in 1976.

91 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 14 Sept. 1732, graphite on vellum, 18.1 x 14 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

92 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, c. 1732, red chalk on paper, 46.9 x 31.7 cm, British Museum, London.

93 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, c. 1732, red chalk on paper, 50.8 x 24.2 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

94 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 24 June 1728, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 44.2 x 29.5 cm, British Museum, London.

95 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, c. 1728, black chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 35.5 x 28.4 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

96 Charles Beale II, *Charles Beale I*, c. 1680, red chalk, strengthened with black lead and black chalk, 21.8 x 15.7 cm, British Museum, London.

97 Charles Beale II, *A Girl*, c. 1680, red and brown chalk, strengthened with black lead and black chalk, 19.2 x 17.8 cm, British Museum, London.

98 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Self-portrait*, c. 1747, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 74.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

99 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait Wearing a Fur Cap*, 3 March 1734, lead on vellum, 15 x 11.5 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

100 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, c. 1628, oil on panel, 22.5 x 18.6 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

101 Jonathan Richardson, *Two Self-portrait Sketches, in a Beret*, c. 1735, graphite on paper, 15.3 x 7.3 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

102 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait in a Beret*, c. 1635-38, red chalk on paper, 12.9 x 11.9 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington (DC).

103 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait with Saskia*, 1636, etching, 10.4 x 9.5 cm, London, British Museum.

104 Follower of Annibale Carraci, *An Artist Seated at an Easel*, pen and ink on paper, 24.2 x 18.4 cm, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

105 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 6 April 1733, black and orange chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 45.7 x 31.4 cm, British Museum, London.

106 The poem 'Whim' from Richardson's *Morning Thoughts* (1776), 264, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

107 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, c. 1732, graphite on vellum, 16.8 x 13 cm, British Museum, London.

108 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 12 April 1732, lead on vellum, 20.1 x 13.5 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

109 Jonathan Richardson, *Mrs. Catherine Knapp*, 31 Oct. 1733, lead on vellum, 9,9 x 10.2 cm, British Museum, London.

110 Jonathan Richardson, *Mrs. Catherine Knapp*, 25 Aug. 1731, graphite on vellum, 13.5 x 13.7 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

111 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, undated, etching, 16 x 11 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery, London.

112 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 1738, etching, 15.7 x 10.9 cm (paper size), Private Collection, London.

113 Robert White (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, engraving, 33 x 23.8 cm (plate mark), frontispiece to Tonson's edition of *Paradise Lost* of 1688, British Library, London.

114 Anthony van Dyck, *Jan Brueghel the Elder*, early 1630s, etching (first state), 24.9 x 15.8 cm (plate mark), detail, British Museum, London.

115 Jonathan Richardson, *Jonathan Richardson Junior, Seated in his Study*, c. 1730-1735, oil on canvas, 91.5 x 71 cm, Private Collection.

116 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait*, 1729, oil on canvas, 73.7 x 62.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

117 Jonathan Richardson, *Self-portrait as a Writer*, c. 1735, oil on canvas, 91.5 x 71 cm, Private Collection, London.

117a Detail from Richardson's *Self-portrait as a Writer*.

118 Anonymous artist (possibly after a drawing by Hogarth), *The Complicated Richardson*, c. 1734, engraving, British Museum, London.

119 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr., Wearing a Turban*, c. 1735, oil on canvas, 61 x 50.1 cm, present location unknown.

120 Roman (after Greek original), *Ariadne*, marble, c. early 2nd century BC, Archaeological Collection, Villa Corsini, Castello.

121 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 6 Aug. 1733, black and red chalk, heightened with white on blue paper, 28.7 x 24 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

122 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 1734, black and red chalk, heightened with white on buff paper, 29.9 x 20 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

123 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 1729, black and red chalk on blue paper, 39.7 x 27cm, present location unknown (art market: Sotheby's London, 13 March 1986, lot 107)

124 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 29 Jan. 1741, black chalk, heightened with white on blue paper, 45.6 x 31.5 cm, British Museum, London.

125 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 4 Oct. 1734, black, and red chalk, heightened with white on blue paper, 33.5 x 25.7 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

126 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 1734, graphite on paper, 15 x 8.1 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

127 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 6 Nov. 1735, pencil and ink on paper, 17.8 x 11.4 cm, present location unknown.

128 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, c. 1736, pencil and ink on paper, 16.7 x 11.3 cm, British Museum, London.

129 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 8 June 1737, pencil on paper, 8.3 x 6.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

130 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, c. 1737, graphite on paper, 15.6 x 9.8 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

131 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 1736, graphite on vellum, 15.1 x 12.7 cm, Coutauld Insitute Galleries, London.

132 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr. in Profile*, 1736, graphite on vellum, 15.4 x 12.9 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

133 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 23 Feb. 1735, pencil on vellum, 16.5 x 11.5 cm, present location unknown (art market: Sotheby's London 10. July 1997, lot 12).

134 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 3 Aug. 1743, graphite on vellum, 17 x 12.6 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

135 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 1735, pencil on vellum, 18.4 x 12.4 cm, present location unknown (art market: Christie's 20. November 1979).

136 Jonathan Richardson, *Portrait of the Artist and of his Son Jonathan*, c. 1732, red chalk on white paper, 29.2 x 39.4 cm, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

137 Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1510/11, fresco, detail, Stanza della Segnatura, Palazzi Pontific, Vatican.

138 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, c. 1695, black chalk heightend with white on blue paper, 27.3 x 20.7cm, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

139 Jonathan Richardson (after an earlier portrait), *Richardson Jr.*, 5 May 1735, pencil on vellum, 18.4 x 14.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

140 Jonathan Richardson, *Richardson Jr.*, 1738, etching, 17.6 x 12.2 cm (plate mark), frontispiece to Richardson's *Richardsoniana* (1776), British Library, London.

141 William Faithorne (attributed), *John Milton*, c. 1670, crayon drawing, 27.1 x 20.7 cm, Princeton University Library, Princeton (NJ).

142 Jonathan Richardson (after Cooper), *John Milton*, undated, pencil on paper, 6.8 x 6 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

143 Jonathan Richardson (after Cooper), *John Milton,* 19 Feb. 17[?], ink over pencil on paper, 17.9 x 14.5 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

144 Edward Pierce II (attributed), *John Milton*, c. 1660, plaster cast, height 27.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

145 Jonathan Richardson (after Pierce), *John Milton*, c. 1736, black chalk, heightened with white on blue paper, 24.1 x 20.3 cm, present location unknown, (art market: Christie's London 8 June 1976, lot 43).

146 Jonathan Richardson (after Pierce), *John Milton*, 23 March 1736, black and red chalk heightened with white on blue paper, 29.5 x 21 cm, present location unknown (art market: Sotheby's London 19. Feb. 1987, lot 41)

147 Jonathan Richardson (after Pierce), *John Milton*, c. 1736, black and red chalk heigthened with white on buff paper, 29.9 x 23.5 cm,Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

148 Jonathan Richardson (after Pierce), *John Milton*, 17. Feb 173[6], graphite von vellum, 16.5 x 13.8 cm, British Museum, London.

149 Jonathan Richardson, *John Milton*, 1734, etching, 18.5 x 13 cm, frontispiece to Richardson's *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734), British Library, London.

150 George Vertue (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, c. 1725, pen, black and brown wash on paper, 19.4 x 16.5 cm, The Huntington Library, San Marino (CA).

151 George Vertue (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, 1725, from Vertue's series *The Twelve Poets,* engraving, 36.5 x 23.7 cm, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (CA),

152 Raphael, *Parnassus*, 1509-10, fresco, width of detail: 92 cm, Stanza della Segnatura, Palazzi Pontifici, Vatican.

153 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, c. 1732/3, pencil on paper, 16.6 x 13.5 cm, detail, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

154 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, c. 1732/3, pencil and chalk on paper, 18.2 x 11.4 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

155 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, 1730s, ink over pencil on paper, 13.8 x 9.3 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

156 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, 1730s, black lead on paper, 16.5 x 13.5 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

157 George Vertue (after a Roman bust in the Farnese Collection), *Homer*, c. 1714, engraving, 21.7 x 15.9 cm (plate mark), frontispiece to *Pope's Iliad* (1715-20), I, British Library, London.

158 Jonathan Richardson, *John Milton*, 1738 etching, 9.8 x 9 cm (oval), Private Collection, Farmington (CT).

159 Jonathan Richardson, *A. Pope as Milton*, 25 March 1738, pencil on vellum, 14.4 x 13 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

160 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, c. 1736, graphite on vellum, 13.8 x 10.8 cm, British Museum, London.

161 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, c. 1736, etching, 23 x 14.7 cm (plate mark) Private Collection, London.

162 Jonathan Richardson (after Faithorne), *John Milton*, 1730s, etching, frontispiece to Say's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1745), British Library, London.

163 Jonathan Richardson, *John Milton*, 1730s, pencil on vellum, 22.2 x 17 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY)

164 George Vertue (after Richardson), *John Milton*, engraving, 18.3 x 30.7, frontispiece to Birch's edition of Milton's *Prose Works* (1738), British Library, London.

165 Jonathan Richardson, *The Artist and His Son, Jonathan, in the Presence of John Milton*, 1730s, oil on canvas, 64 x 77 cm, Private Collection.

166 Jonathan Richardson, *Studies of John Milton and Alexander Pope*, c. 1736, proof etching, 14.5 x 20.8 (plate mark), British Museum, London.

167 William Faithorne, *John Milton*, 1670, line engraving, 18.1 x 13.6 cm, frontispiece to Milton's *History of Britain* (1670), British Library, London.

168 Michael Rysbrack, *John Milton,* c. 1738, marble, height: 66 cm, The Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey, London.

169 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope*, 1738, etching,, 11.75 x 9.85 cm (plate mark), Private Collection, Farmington (CT).

170 John Searle, *A Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden as it was left at his Death,* from Searle's *Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden* (1745), plate 15, engraving and etching, 20.3 x 48.3 cm, The Huntington Library, San Marino (CA). The explanation on the left side reads: 1 The Grass Plat before the House next the Thames. / 2 The House. / 3 The under Ground Passage. / 4 The Road from Hampton Court to London. / 5 The Shell Temple. / 6 The large Mount. / 7 The Stoves. / 8 The Vineyard. / 9 The Obelisk in memory of his Mother. / 10 Two small Mounts. / 11 The Bowling Green. / 12 The Grove. / 13 The Orangery. / 14 The Garden House. / 15 Kitchen Garden. / N.B. The square Marks in the Plan are Urns & Statues.

171 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope*, c. 1737, oil on canvas, 99 x 83.2 cm, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (CT).

172 Pierre Fourdrinier (after Kent) *Poetry and Painting*, line engraving, 7.9 x 6.5 cm, frontispiece to *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope* (1735), British Library, London.

173 William Hoare, *Mr. Pope*, c. 1739-43, red chalk on white paper, 16.8 x 11.4 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

174 Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington, *Alexander Pope Playing Cards*, late 1730s, pen an ink on paper, 17.8 x 15.9 cm, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

175 Charles Jervas, *Alexander Pope*, c. 1714, oil on canvas, 193 x 125.7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

176 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope*, c. 1718, oil on canvas, 100 x 78.2 cm, Hagley Park, Stourbridge, Worcestershire.

177 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1721, chalk and pencil on buff oiled paper, 46.4 x 37.5 cm, British Museum, London.

178 Louis François Roubiliac, *Alexander Pope*, 1741, polished white marble, height (without pedestal) 48.9 cm, Dalmeny House, West Lothian.

179 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 16 June 1733, lead pencil on vellum, 14.6 x 12.4 cm, Private Collection, Burford, Oxfordshire.

180 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope Asleep,* July 1741, black chalk and pencil on white paper, 13.7 x 9.5 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

181 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope Asleep,* 11 July 1741, pencil on white paper, 14 x 8.3 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY)

182 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope*, c. 1736, oil on canvas, 75 x 62.2 cm, Petworth House, Sussex.

183 Thomas Holloway (after Richardson), *Alexander Pope*, line engraving, 12.7 x 10.5 cm, frontispiece to *The Works of Alexander Pope* (1797), British Library, London.

184 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope*, c. 1742, oil on canvas, 29.3 x 25.4 cm, Private Collection, Coulston, Haddington.

185 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope*, c. 1737, oil on canvas, 61.3 x 45.7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

186 Jonathan Richardson, *Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke*, c. 1737, oil on canvas, 75.5 x 63.2 cm, detail, National Portrait Gallery, London.

187 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope – Amicitia Causa,* 1737, etching, 10 x 9.7 (plate mark), frontispiece to *Letters of Mr. Alexander Pope and Several of his Friends* (1737), British Library, London.

188 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope – Amicitiae Causa, c.* 1737, pencil on paper and etching, 12 x 10.2 cm, Private Collection, London.

189 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1738, etching, 15.2 x 11.4 cm (plate mark), British Museum, London.

190 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1738, etching, 10.8 x 8.3 cm (plate mark), Private Collection.

191 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope – ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ* 1738, etching, 14.6 x 11.4 cm (plate mark), British Museum, London.

192 John Smith (after Kneller), *Alexander Pope*, 1717, mezzotint, 34.4 x 24.7 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery; London.

193 George Vertue (after Jervas), *Alexander Pope*, c. 1714, line engraving, 37 x 26.5 cm (paper size), National Portrait Gallery, London.

194 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope – Amicitiae Causa*, 1737, etching, frontispiece to Curll's edition of Pope's *Letters* (1737), British Library, London.

195 Top of the first page of *Books Printed for E. Curll, At Pope's Head*, December 1735, British Library, London.

196 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1736, etching, 11.3 x 10.5 cm (medallion), integrated in Thomas Dodd's extra-illustrated *Works of Pope* (1824), I, No. 181, Private Collection.

197 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 6 Sept. 1736, lead on vellum, 16.5 x 13.7 cm, Private Collection, Burford, Oxfordshire.

198 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1736, etching, 21 x 14.6 cm (plate mark), National Portrait Gallery, London.

199 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 4 Sept. 1736, pen and ink and pencil on paper, 15.2 x 12 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

200 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1736, black chalk over etching on paper, 16.5 x 13.3 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

201 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 30 Aug. 1736, lead on vellum, 14 x 10.5 cm, Private Collection..

202 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1736, etching, 20.6 x 14 cm (plate mark), Harvard College Library, Cambridge (MA).

203 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope – Amicitiae Causa,* 1736, etching, 18.4 x 13.7 cm (plate mark), The New York Public Library (NY).

204 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1736, pen and ink and wash over pencil on paper cut to octogonal shape, 12.7 x 12 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

205 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 1730s, pencil on paper cut to octogonal shape, 7.8 x 6.4 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

206 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 1730s, pencil on paper (irregularly trimmed) 11.4 x 7.6 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

207 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 8 Feb. 1736, pencil on vellum, 16.2 x 13.3 cm, Private Collection, Burford. Oxfordshire.

208 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope as Poet Laureate,* 18 June 1735, lead on vellum, 15 x 12 cm, Private Collection, Burford, Oxfordshire.

209 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 24 Jan. 1736, lead on vellum, 12.7 x 10.1 cm, Private Collection, Burford, Oxfordshire.

210 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 22 Feb. 1736, lead on vellum, 13.3 x 8.0 cm, Private Collection, New York (NY).

211 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* 13 Jan. 1737, lead on vellum, 10.5 x 8.3 cm, Private Collection, New York (NY).

212 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope,* c. 1736, pencil on paper, 7.3 x 5.7 cm, Private Collection, Burford, Oxfordshire.

213 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope as Poet Laureate,* 5 Feb. 1735, lead on vellum), 12.7 x 7.9 cm, Private Collection, New York (NY).

214 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope as Poet Laureate,* 31. Jan. 1734, lead on vellum, 16.2 x 13 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

215 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope as Poet Laureate,* c. 1734, lead on paper, 11.4 x 8.3 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

216 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope as Poet Laureate,* c. 1734, pencil on vellum, 9.5 x 7.3 cm, University of Texas Library, Austin (TX).

217 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope as a C[...]*, undated, pencil on white paper, 13 x 10 cm, Cornell University Library, Ithaca (NY).

218 Anonymous, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, from an early 15th century manuscript of Thomas Hoccleve's *De Regimini Princiipium*, British Library, London.

219 Jonathan Richardson, *Alexander Pope in Profile*, undated, lead on vellum, 13.3 x 9.5 cm, Private Collection, Farmington (CT).

220 Jonathan Richardson, *Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke,* c. 1738, etching, 16.5 x 10.2 cm (plate mark), frontispiece to Bolingbroke's *Letter to William Windham* (1753), Private Collection, London.